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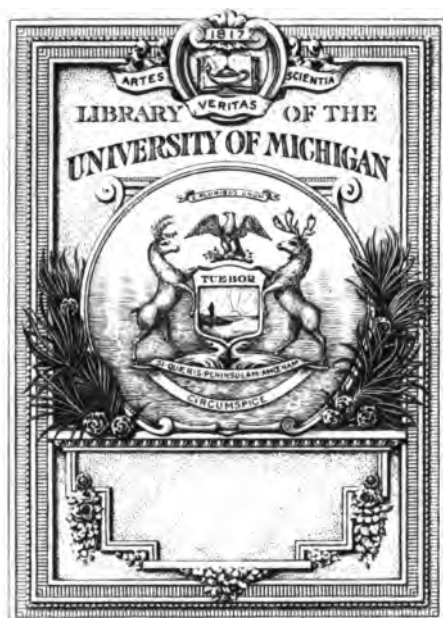
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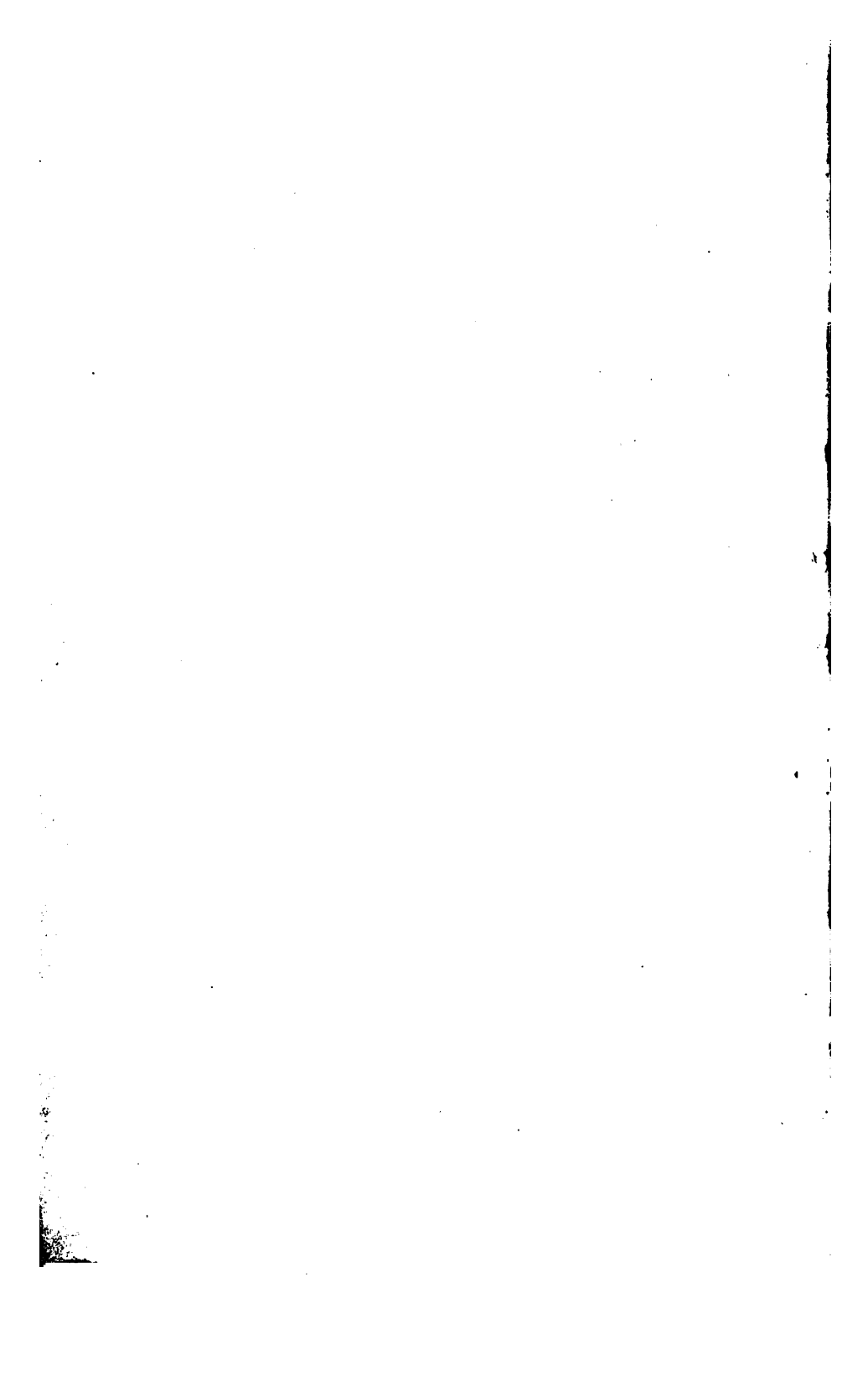
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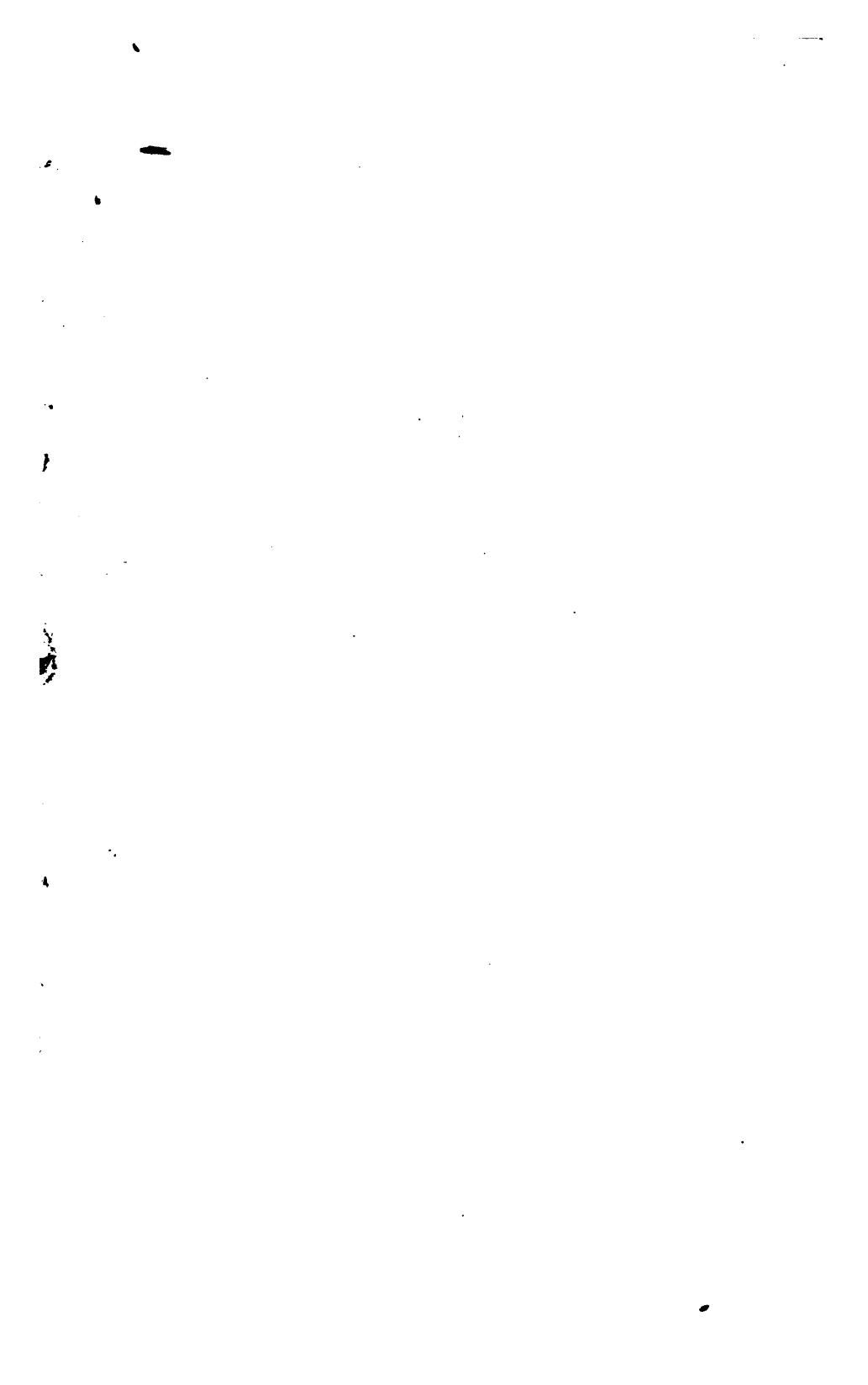
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A. H. H. H. H.
P O L I T I C S

FOR THE

P E O P L E:

OR, A

SALMAGUNDY FOR SWINE.

VOL. I.

Thy magic Rod, audacious Burke,
Could metamorphize Man to Pork,
And quench the Spark divine;
But Eaton's Wonder-working Wand,
By scattering Knowledge through the Land,
Is making Men of Swine.

A CI-DEVANT FIG.

L O N D O N :

**PRINTED FOR D. F. EATON, AT THE COCK AND HOG-
TROUGH, NEWGATE-STREET.**

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45500

POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE;

O R

A Salmagundy for Swine:

CONSISTING

Of the choicest Viands, contributed by the Cooks of
the present Day,

AND

Of the highest flavoured Delicacies, composed by the
Caterers of former Ages.

~~~~~

*Since Times are bad, and solid food is rare,  
The Swinish Herd should learn to live on air:  
Acorns and Pease, alas! no more abound,  
A feast of Words, is in the Hog Trough found.*

OLD HUBERT.

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THE FIFTH EDITION.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for D. L. EATON, No. 74, NEWGATE STREET,

M. DCC. XCIV.

Q 5-12-42 GS

S I R,

*As a Member of the Swinish Herd, I beg Leave to thank you for your diligence and attention, in supplying us with good wholesome Food; on which I hope we shall long continue to feast ourselves, in spite of those who would wish to ring our Noses in order to prevent us from grubbing after Truth, or to starve us to death in "the sty of Taxation." But knowing that we are a very voracious species of Animals, I was fearful lest the provision should be devoured faster than even your unremitting exertions might be able to supply it; I have therefore taken the liberty to send you a few morsels from a store of "Hog's Meat" on which I lately made a repast, and found very agreeable to the Swinish Palate of*

*Yours, &c.*

*A BROTHER GRUNTER.*

*Hog's Town,*

*September 9th. 1793.*

*Extracts from Lord Lyttleton's Persian Letters.*

**T**O speak Truth is the privilege of a Freeman; to do it roundly and plainly is his glory."  
*Letter 43*

*"The House of Commons is the representative of the Nation; nevertheless there are many great towns which send no Deputies thither, and many hamlets almost uninhabited that have a right of sending two. Several members have never seen their*

their electors, and several are elected by the *Parliament*, who were rejected by the *People*. All the electors swear not to *sell* their voices, yet many of the candidates are undone by the expence of *buying* them. This whole affair is involved in deep mystery and inexplicable difficulties." *Letter 7*

"If you know how to value Liberty as you ought, you will not deprive others of it; who though unjust, are men like yourselves, and should not be oppressed." *Letter 12*

"If subtleties and distinctions are admitted to constitute right, they will equally be made use of to evade it; and if Justice is turned into a science, Injustice will soon be made a trade." *Letter 13*

"As to the administration of our Law, the difference between us and other Countries is little more than this, that there they sell Justice *in the gross*, and here we sell it by *retail*. In Persia, the Cadi passes sentence for a round sum of money; in England, the Judge indeed takes nothing; but the Attorney, the Advocate, every officer, and every retainer on the Court, raise treble that sum upon the client." *Letter 26*

"The majority of the representative body is chosen, not by the whole nation, but by a *small and very mean part of it*. There are a number of Boroughs which have, at present, no other trade than *sending Members to Parliament*, and whose Inhabitants think the right of *selling themselves and their Country*, the only privilege of Englishmen." *Letter 53*

There is so cold and lifeless an unconcern to every thing but a narrow private Interest; we are so little in earnest about Religion, Virtue, Honor, or the good of our Country, that unless some spark of ancient fire should revive, I am afraid we shall jest away our Liberties, and all that is essential to our happiness." *Letter 70*

All *authority flows from Reason*, and ought to lose its force in proportion as it deviates from its source."

"A free enquirer into points of speculation should beyond all others, be ashamed of a tame compliance in points of action. The *unthinking* may be passive from delusion, or, at least from inadvertency; but the *greatest Monster and worst criminal* in society, is a *free thinking Slave*."

*Letter 72*

"I have seen a people whose very being depends on commerce, suffer *Luxury and the heavy load of Taxes* to ruin their manufactures at home, and turn the balance against them in foreign Trade!

"I have seen them wrapped up in full security upon the flourishing state of *public credit*, only because they had a *prodigious stock of Paper*, which now, indeed, they circulate as Money, but which the first alarm of a calamity may, in an instant, make *mere Paper* of again!

I have seen them constantly busied in *passing Laws* for the better regulation of their *Police*, and never taking any care of their *execution*; loudly declaring the abuses of their Government, and quietly allowing them to increase!

I have seen them make such a *provision for their Poor*, as would relieve all their wants if well applied

plied; and suffer a third part of them to *starve*, from the roguery and riot of those entrusted with the care of them!

But the *greatest* of all the *wonders* I have seen, and which most of all proves their *infatuation*, is, that *they profess to maintain Liberty by Corruption!*

Letter 74

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S I R,

*Having met with several different copies of the following animated address, I herewith send you that which I believe to be the most correct, wishing if it should meet with your approbation, that you should republish it, since, by so doing you would certainly aid the cause of Liberty.*

A Lover of Peace and Liberty.

*An address from the National Convention of France,*

TO

*The British Soldiers and Sailors.*

ENGLISHMEN,

**M**EN who have fought against and have overthrown the despotism of Monarchy, who have driven from their Country the invading Armies of two of the most powerful military nations of Europe, are still forced to fight in defence of their Liberties. Pause a while, before your resolve to make your blood flow with that of your fellow men, and consider the nature of those injuries you are come to avenge. Have the French invaded your Country? Have they interrupted your Commerce, insulted your Nation, refused to discharge towards your fellow Citizens the duties of Hospitality?

Hospitality? Have you, through the wide spread extent of your Empire, one charge to make against the agents of the Republic. NO.

Since then nothing appears to justify the War, into which you are dragged; and since it must be without reason, if our blood tinge those waves which we ought to press in peace, and on which we ought to embrace as brothers—extend to us your hands in amity.

Frenchmen have said, that “Men are born equally free” that “Laws ought to have for their object the enjoyment of Liberty and equality.” and these they have called the RIGHTS of MAN. Oh! People of England! this is the crime of which the French have been guilty. It has armed against them Kings, Lords and Priests; for these men banish from their system all ideas of equality.—But the French appeal to your conscience and to your unbiassed reason.—Will you make war with them because they have promulgated your rights and their own?

It is certain, the declaration of these truths have endangered those who every where oppress and despise their fellow creatures, and who dare to enjoy in the bosom of wealth, those blessings which are procured by the sweat and labour of those they spurn. Their system is built on this principle “*The many are to toil and slave, that the few may be luxuriously gorged.*”

But will You who are brought to fight us, You whose strength and courage are about to be exerted on the side of avarice and ambition, will You assist those who despise and evil-treat You? Will you still shed your blood for hire? Answer us; What will be your reward? what are your hopes? what will be the effect of your endeavours should you triumph, and what if otherwise?

We will inform you. If our blood be exhausted by those with whom we wish to join in fellowship, *Liberty* will be banished from Europe, perhaps from the World, for ever. If we succeed, You will be free; for as it is for the Rights of Man that we contend, if you are Men, our victory will be your own—Speak now—Do you still wish to contend with us? Answer us, Must we treat you as Enemies, or shall we receive you as Friends.



S I R,

*Having met with the following morsels in the course of my late readings, and conceiving their republication might not be improper at this Time, I have sent them for that purpose.*

Yours,

*An old Friend to the People.*

I AM convinced that our *Constitution* is *already gone*, and we are idly struggling to maintain what in truth has been long lost, like some fools, with Gout and Palsies at eighty years of age drinking the Bath Waters in hopes of Health again. —In short, the whole Nation is so abandoned and corrupted, that the Crown can never fail of a majority in both houses of Parliament, it makes them all in one House, and he chuses above half in the other. Four and twenty Bishops and sixteen Scots Peers is a terrible weight in one; forty five from one Country, besides the West of England, and all the Government Boroughs is a dreadful number in the other. Were His Majesty inclined tomorrow, to declare his Body Coachman

man his first minister, it would do as well, and the wheels of Government would move as easily, as they do with the sagacious driver who sets on the box: parts and abilities are not in the least wanting to conduct affairs, the Coachman knows how to feed his cattle, and the other feeds the beasts in his service, and this is all the skill that is necessary in either case. Are not these sufficient difficulties and discouragements if there were no others, and would any man struggle against corruption, when he knows that if he is ever near defeating it, those who make use of it, only double the dose, and carry all their points further and with a higher hand then perhaps they at first intended.\*

*Letter from the late Lord Batburst, to Mr. Pope.*

Nothing is so dangerous to society, nor ought to be so strictly guarded against, as unrestrained power delegated to any individual or particular body Men. It is a just observation of Montesquieu, "that whoever possesses power is, from his nature, inclined to abuse it." The history of all nations fully illustrates this position, and particularly that of the nations of Europe; of the excesses and crimes of the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Dutch in South America; and lately even, in our own times, of the English in India: It is needless to mention the enormities of the Star Chamber under Charles 1st. and High Commission of the usurpation under the Parliament, and under Cromwell; the same violence and cruelty pollute and vilify our species, and prove that law and  
terror

\* This letter was written many years ago, before it had been voted by Parliament that the influence of the Crown was increasing and ought to be diminished—What would his Lordships sentiments have been had he lived in these days?

terror are as necessary restraints on Princes and Bodies of Men, as locks, bars, and irons on the felons in Newgate.

*Moral and Political Memoirs, Page 157*

One of the strongest symptoms of the decline of a state, and of the ascendant of selfishness, is the excessive rewards given not only to treachery, apostacy, and servility, but even to real public services. Before an almost general corruption has infected the Community, merit and talents are flattered, and even elated with the most inconsiderable acknowledgements; a crown of olive, of laurel, the thanks of the People: but in a less pure and generous period of manners and sentiments. Pensions and Revenues, &c. are impudently expected and claimed for merely having held an office, without either ability, integrity, or National esteem.

*Ibid.*



*A Sketch of the most memorable Events in the History of England, from the landing of Julius Cæsar, to the reign of William the Conqueror.*

By OLD HUBERT.

**T**RADITION yields us no certain information respecting this Island, previous to its invasion by Julius Cæsar. At that time the People, who were very numerous, were almost in a state of Nature, living in the open air, or in rudely built thatched huts; their chief employment being that of tending large herds of cattle. The skins of beasts thrown loosely round them formed their cloathing, such parts of their bodies as were left uncovered being ornamented by painting or staining

ing with the juice of certain plants. Their long hair flowing down their backs, and their beards, which were permitted to grow on their upper-lips contributed, with their cloathing, to give them an appearance truly savage and ferocious.

Courage, blended with that species of weakness which is accompanied by excessive credulity, and which renders men the easy and passive dupes of designing villains, characterized the manners and actions of our fore-fathers. Their priests, the Druids, by the severity of their manners, and by the mysteriousness of their religious rites, had obtained so complete an ascendancy over them, as to be permitted, without exciting either murmur or resistance, to make very numerous sacrifices of their miserable devotees.

Julius Cæsar, kindly, no doubt, intending to introduce among these savages the numerous blessings of civilization; but most certainly not without some design of gratifying, at the same time, that lust of power and dominion which has been the first spring of action of almost every Monarch we read of, landed some legions of his *disciplined murderers*; and after cutting the throats of some thousands of the unfortunate Inhabitants, he honored the remainder by admitting them among the tributaries of Rome.

Not thoroughly convinc'd of the blessings which flow from being *Governed by a Foreigner*; nor entirely satisfied with the *Foreign Troops* which were introduced among them, many efforts were made by the Britons to regain their independence; of these, the one most deserving of record is that of the illustrious Boadicea Queen of Prasatagus, King of the Iceni. This King hoping to obtain peace to his family and to his subjects, *bequeathed*  
(for

(for Kings had already began to consider their subjects as transferable property) one half of his Kingdom to the Roman Emperor, and the other half to his daughters: but the Roman procurator, modelty conceiving this legacy not to be sufficiently ample for the Emperor, his master, took possession of the whole.

Boadicea ventured to remonstrate, but the august representative of Cæsar considering that such unpardonable presumption demanded exemplary punishment, ordered the widow Queen to be scourged in the manner of a Roman slave, and took on himself the trouble of violating the chastity of her daughters. Boadicea not being sufficiently civilized to bear tamely such injuries at the hands of the Tyrant, placed herself, with her daughters at the head of 200000 Men, and gave battle to the Romans. These, better skilled in the art of murder than the Britons, obtained a difficult, but a decisive victory; whilst Boadicea either dreading the tender mercies of her Conqueror; or unable to bear the reflection of having been the innocent cause of 150000 brave men perishing in the field of blood, put an end to her life by poison.

Near four hundred years the Roman Tyrants kept the mastery of this Island, during which time the flower of the British Youth was wasted on the Continent, in fighting the Wars of those Tyrants who wished to sacrifice the liberties of Mankind on the *reeking altar of MONARCHY*, and to muster a world of slaves under the dominion of a band of Tyrants.

Mankind, now deprived almost of all their liberties, made the discovery that the World was not made for Cæsar; they, therefore, shook off those

those chains which had galled them beyond their farther sufferance, and exchanged them for those of a lighter form. Actual liberty was a blessing too great for the hopes, and even the contemplation of men inured to slavery, they therefore contented themselves with only changing their Masters, and as others Empires rose, Rome declined and fell.

The folly of the Britons exceeded that of all the rest of the world, for not perceiving that their happiness would have been compleatly secured by peace and union among themselves, the Picts and Scots allowed themselves to be brought by their Kings to attack the Inhabitants of the more southern parts of the Island, who, finding themselves incapable of defence, imprudently sent a deputation to Germany, intreating the Saxons to come and protect them against their own Countrymen. The Saxons came, joined the Britons and overcame their opposers. Then, in turn, these same Germans united themselves to the Picts and Scots, and waged war with the Britons whom they had been engaged to defend. *[To be continued.]*

### *Answers to Correspondents.*

The communication of a short tailed Pig shall be employed, perhaps in the next number.

The fable of the living and dead Lyon, assuredly in our next.

To our correspondent Brutus, who complains of the inactivity of the Dutch, and of their having taken nothing during the War. We give the information on the authority of a friend, whose valuable assistance we hope to obtain, that The Dutch have, to a certainty taken—*Umbrage* in the neighborhood of *Menin*.

To what circumstance in the present war, can our Correspondent Dunkirk allude, when he says, A boy has been sent of an Errand and has lost the parcel."

To the request of Titus, we must answer, that the next number is already filled.

And, for the many valuable communications received, D. I. BATEMAN gives thanks; and assures the Friends of Freedom, that their Favors shall find as early an insertion as possible.

# POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE.

( NUMBER II. )

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PRICE TWO PENCE.

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## THE HONEST COBLER.

**N**OT many years ago an honest cobbler, who had a vote for a certain borough, being accosted by a certain Court candidate for his vote declared he would reserve it to the last; when being again applied to, to name his terms; why then, says honest Crispin, "*kiss my a—se are mine.*" The polite Courtier, offended at such indelicacy, offered any sum, &c. but still Crispin was resolved and "*kiss my a—se or no vote from me.*" was the resolution. The fate of the election depended on his single voice. The polite Courtier complied, and the honest cobbler voted for *t'other side*, as his conscience directed; declaring that a scoundrel that could be mean enough to '*kiss his a—se,*' was unworthy of a seat in Parliament. May the nation never be without such like honest Crispins; and may all such, or other bribing scoundrels, be alike served at every election, and then the house will be without *knaves*, and the people without *grievances*!

*History of England, continued. By Old Hubert.*

**G**ERMAN PRINCES, though ready to dispose of their subjects to fight on any side, have never been found thus engaged without the prospect of some reward. In this instance the fertile plains of Britain held out to them a powerful temptation, and nothing less than the country of their employers would satisfy these *just, humane and peaceful arbiters of Nations*. In obtaining this, every corner of the Island was ravaged and swept

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by

None of the acts of this weak Prince have however entailed much injury on his posterity, except that most absurd gift of a tythe of the produce of the land to the Clergy. Without pointing out the amount of the sum thus appropriated, it will be sufficient to shew the injustice and impolicy of this Tax, to observe, that it is not merely a donation of the tenth part of the soil, but that it is a heavy tax on the labour and ingenuity of the husbandman, as well as on all that part of his property which is employed in his agricultural concerns. Since, should a farmer take a piece of barren land and improve it by extreme assiduity and immense expence, a tythe of the produce of such land may in reality be a tax of one half, or of ten shillings in the pound—an unjust and dispiriting check upon industry and agricultural improvement.

Ethelbald at the death of the Father he had attempted to dethrone, perhaps with the intention of appeasing his manes, incestuously married Judith his father's widow. His brother Ethelbert shared the government with him, and at his death became the sole Monarch.

Ethelbert survived his brother but about five years, when the crown devolved to his Brother Ethelred, whose reign was rendered memorable by no particular event. He was succeeded by his brother Alfred.

Alfred had no sooner began his reign than he found it necessary to take the field against the Danes, who had continued their irruptions during the former reign. He fought with them in several battles, and with various success, untill at last the Danes swarmed so fast on this ill-fated Island, that the affrighted Saxons abandoned their King, who was yet disposed to dispute the possession of the

the country with these new invaders. The Saxons, of whom the Inhabitants of this Island was now almost entirely composed, they having nearly extirpated the original possessors, were now in their turn obliged to yield to the strength and numbers of the Danes, and Britain was again over-run, and by a new race of Conquerors.

Alfred, who had in vain employed every argument to induce his Subjects to make, at least, one more stand against their enemies, finding himself now deserted, assumed the disguise of a Peasant, and engaged himself as a cow-herd to a farmer.—Whilst in this service, historians tell us, that he was employed by his mistress to watch some cakes which were baking before the fire.—Absorbed in thought—meditating perhaps on the uncertain tenure of a Crown; perhaps comparing his present menial employ with his former state of splendour; or still more probably, since it must have been more congenial with that spirit which actuated this benevolent Prince, his mind might be engaged in planning schemes for the future prosperity and happiness of his people, he neglected the duties of his new office; and the cakes being spoiled, Alfred the great, prudently submitted to the correction which the good housewife, his mistress, chose to inflict on him. A pleasing and instructive, though, perhaps a fictitious tale.

After remaining some time thus concealed, Alfred stole forth and collected a few adherents, who concealed themselves with him in a strong hold, in the midst of a morass. In this retreat, Oddune, Earl of Devonshire came to him, and informed him, that in a sally he had made from his Castle, he had routed the enemy with great slaughter, had killed their general and taken their enchanted banner.

Alfred learning by this occurrence that the courage of his subjects was beginning to revive, wisely determined to inform himself of the disposition and power of the enemy. Disguised therefore like a harper, he boldly entered their camp, and soon gained admission even to the tent of Guthrum, the Danish Prince. Having satisfied himself of the supineness and want of discipline in the army of the enemy, he had his subjects collected on the borders of Selwood Forest, and on a sudden placed himself at their head.

*To be continued.*

S I R,

As I understand you are a Friend to the cause of Liberty, and wish to contribute all in your power to enlighten the minds of the poor deluded People of this Country, I send you the enclosed, with the hope of its proving useful,

*And am*

*Your fellow Labourer in the Vineyard of Liberty and Virtue,*

# ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE PRESENT WAR,

With remarks on War in general.

ADDRESSED TO THE

## PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

“ Who fills the Cup of Woe for others taste,

“ Shall drink the baneful Draught.”

EURIP. AGAMEM.

### FRIENDS and COUNTRYMEN,

IT was the opinion of the celebrated Archbishop of Cambray, that “ War should never be thought of but in the defence of Liberty.” Let us then consider how far the present war with France is justifiable.

It is a general maxim of policy, that “ the crimes, perpetrated in one independent state, are not cognizable by another.” Why then were

were the enormities of the French in their own country considered as a cause of war? By what commission were we appointed the avengers of crimes in France? Every nation is competent to settle its own government, and it is sufficient reason for any form to be adopted that the people will it so to be. No injustice, however flagrant, committed in a foreign state, and having no relation to other countries, is a just ground for making war.

Let us next enquire what are the principles of the Combined Powers? Their motive for invading France is evidently to mould its government according to their own caprice, or to restore the despotism which the French have overthrown. How far these principles constitute a *just* war, I shall submit to your determination, and shall only observe, that by the law of Nations and of Nature, the government of every independent state is to be settled by those who are to live under it, and not by foreign force. Extension of territory is neither expected nor eligible, and nothing can be gained while our marine have to act against armed vessels only. What then can be the principal design of the present war? If it is to oppose the propagation of French principles, it will be a war without effect, and without end; and, in order to accomplish this purpose, we must pass an act of parliament to prohibit the importation of News into Great Britain.

Left foul Invasion in disguise approach,  
Or Treason lurk within the Dover coach,

If it is said, that the defence our Allies was the chief pretext for going to war, it may be answered, that Holland never demanded our interference; and as to Prussia, it was never molested, or even threatened: But admitting, for the sake

take of argument, that our aid was required, yet I contend, that the object was obtained when the enemy were driven out of the territories of our Allies, and that the war ought then to have been terminated. I would likewise beg leave to ask, if we could not have afforded sufficient protection to Holland by an augmentation of our marine, without sending any land forces out of the kingdom.

Some will urge the necessity of preserving the balance of power in Europe, as an argument for continuing the war; but to use the words of an eminent Divine, how wretched must that system of policy be, which spills the kindred blood of nations, because of the alliance of one single family with another, and carries fire and sword into a neighbouring country, under pretence of balancing the political powers of this world. If however, there is any weight in this argument, there must have been great criminality in the conduct of our Ministers, in quietly suffering such balance of power to be destroyed, by the infamous conquest of Poland.

“ Time shall inform you rightly who conducts

“ As a wife steward of a family,

“ The City justly, and whose conduct errs.”

EURIP. AGAMEMNON.

If it be alledged, that apprehension of danger to this country was another cause of the war, I answer, that our military forces, together with a powerful navy, would have been sufficient to have protected us from all external foes; and, as to our internal enemies, they might easily have been converted into friends, by a speedy and effectual Reform in Parliament; an event, which must take place, sooner or later, and until it happens, it requires not the aid of astrological  
cal.

calculations to predict, that our affairs will never continue long in a flourishing state. "Where many are excluded from a share in public government and civil estimation, and are kept poor, and regarded as despicable, that state must have many *internal enemies*."

Arist Politics. iii

From all these considerations, I am led to conclude, that the defence of liberty is not the object of the present war; and that therefore, according to the proposition first laid down, the prosecution of it cannot be justified. For the sake of humanity, may it be speedily concluded; and for the sake of justice, may those who have bravely fought for freedom securely enjoy its blessings in peace. There are seasons when a *torpor*, falls upon nations: When, unmoved by glory or disgrace, they take every thing as a *good bargain*, with indulges them in their present inactivity, esteeming it as an abundant liberty if they do not feel the whip; if they are permitted, like tame cattle, to saunter about, at the good pleasure of their high and mighty masters. Whether this has been, or is now the case with us, your reflections will enable you to decide.

To conclude in the language of the immortal Fénélon, "What is the race of man, but one family widely scattered upon the earth? all men by nature are brothers; and should be mutually endeared by a brother's love. Accursed be those impious barbarians who seek for glory in the kindred blood, which differs but in name from their own! War, indeed, is sometimes necessary; but the necessity of War is the reproach of man. The calamities of War are more to be dreaded than is generally imagined. War never fails to exhaust the State  
and

and endanger its destruction with whatever success it is carried on. Though it may be commenced with advantage, it can never be finished without danger of the most fatal reverse of fortune; with whatever superiority of strength an engagement is begun, the least mistake, the slightest accident may turn the scale, and give victory to the enemy. With what caution should Princes undertake a war! Wars indeed, ought always to be just; but that is not sufficient; they ought also to be necessary to the general good. The blood of a nation ought never to be shed, except for its own preservation in the utmost extremity.

## AN ENGLISHMAN.

OLD BROMPTON.

September 14. 1793.

## FABLE OF THE

## LIVING LION, and the DEAD LION.

**A** CERTAIN LION, during his whole life, made no conscience of hunting, seizing and devouring all sorts of Beasts, (as well those that live on *Grass as Flesh*;) and all without any other reason than to satisfy his hunger, to shew his great strength, and to let all the other Beasts see that he, unlike to them, was subject to no Law but his will: insomuch that all of them to get into his favour, or to avoid his anger, flattered and honoured him to the highest degree. Now among the chief and constant flatterers of the *Lion*, were particularly reckoned the *Wolves* and *Bears*. the *Foxes* and the *Apes*, who each of them said that they willingly acknowledged the *Lion* for chief Huntsman, or Master of all the game, and that they would readily help him to take the Beasts that feed on *Grass*, provided that every one of them should have a small portion of the flesh of those innocent Beasts that they happened to catch, and that

that the Apes, who by their tricks and mimic actions diverted the Lion when he was at table, at the *chase*, or at other times, should have for their share the offal of all that were taken. The Lion accepted the proposal, and to hunting they all went together, and for some time caught many of the grass eating Beasts, and devoured them.—Till at length the Lion under whose protection the other villainous Beasts had dared to commit so many MURDERS, fell sick and died. Then the *Beasts of Prey* fell together by the ears, for whom they should chuse for their chief Huntsman in room of the defunct. While the war lasted, the Beasts that lived on grass were not pursued by them, but living in quiet and plenty grew very strong and healthy, and declared aloud, that Men ought to extirpate the Race of these *ravenous Beasts of prey, as Monsters unworthy to live in the world*; or at least to drive them out of the grassy plains, for that they would not be governed by any Laws nor live according to the rules of reason and justice; but, on the contrary, trampled on all the peaceable Beasts, robbed them of their pasture and destroyed them at pleasure. Now when the news of the *Lion's* death reached the peaceable Beasts, there was not the meanest of them all, but hied away in haste to insult over him, and to shew what a despicable creature a *Beast of Prey* is, when deprived of his strength and power to do harm. The Hare leaped on his lifeless carcase, plucked him by the beard, sported with his teeth and claws and wrung him by the tail, while the Ass fell to kicking him on the head and reviled him in the following words—This kick I give thee, for that thou hast so often derided and injured me and my *numerous family*; This for that thou hast so often driven us out of our pasture and forced us to wander

der up and down in foreign lands like vagabonds ;  
And this last hearty kick I give thee in remembrance  
that thou in thy life time hast devoured  
so many of my innocent children, to glut thy  
accursed maw.

## EXPLANATION.

By the Lion in this Fable, is understood, a Man in Power and authority, who lives not on his own Property, but, by oppressing and taxing others, in a word, an absolute Monarch or Tyrant.——By the Wolves and Bears, we understand Soldiers who assist such a Man in his violences.——By Foxes and Apes, we mean Courtiers who give him advice and direct him.——By the Beasts that feed on Grass, are meant all the Inhabitants of a Country, who live, not by oppressing others, but by the fruits of their own industry and labour.——By the Hare is meant a Man of experience in the world, who does hurt to no one.——By the As is signified all Labourers, Tradesmen and Manufacturers.

The Author of this fable, observes in the moral he draws from it that when a Tyrant dies—Then first the eyes of all the wise and honest Inhabitants are seen to sparkle with excess of joy: Then first is made public, the true life and achievements, that is the faults of a Tyrant, and not his praises only; Then his Statutes are thrown down, and sometimes his breathless body torn in pieces and drag'd thro' the Streets. Then the wise Inhabitants cry out for joy, There lies the Murderer, who to increase his own greatness, took delight in causing to be put to death the wise and virtuous Inhabitants and in the effusion of a sea of blood that was shed in his unjust and destructive wars. There lies the ravenous beast of prey, who, by causing their husbands and fathers to be murdered has made so many Widows and Orphans, and then, shameful, rob them of all their substance. There lies the foul ravisher of young virgins and honest wives. There lies the detestable monster who liv'd to the destruction of all wise and good men, and is dead, to their inexpressible joy and satisfaction.—In a word, these are those laudable insults of the wise and virtuous Hare, and those kicks of the harmless and labourious As on the body of the dead Lion.

# POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE.

( NUMBER III. )

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PRICE TWO PENCE.

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## THE FROG'S CONCERN.

### A FABLE.

|                                                      |                                                                       |
|------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| TWO fierce young bulls within the<br>marshes strove, | E'en let them do, as fit they see,<br>But, what is that to you or me? |
| For the reward of empire and of love ;               | If that, said t'other, were all indeed,                               |
| Which should the fairest heifer gain,                | " We should about this matter be agreed                               |
| And which should govern all the plain                | I should not care a single groat,                                     |
| This, when a frog hard by perceiv'd,                 | To see them tear each others throat,                                  |
| He sigh'd and sob'd, and sorely griev'd,             | But friend, the creatures of such might,                              |
| He hung his head, and made great moan,               | Can never meet in field to fight,                                     |
| As though he'd lost his wife or son.                 | But in their furious mad career,                                      |
| At which a neighbouring frog admir'd,                | Both you and I endanger'd are,                                        |
| And kindly of the cause enquir'd,                    | And all our kindred tribes below,                                     |
| Which when he knew, he said in haste                 | In hazard of their lives must go.                                     |
| 'And gossip is this all at last ?                    | When Bulls rush on, or when retreat                                   |
| 'If this and that great loggerhead bull,             | for breath.                                                           |
| 'Will try the thickness of each others               | They'll tread an hundred of us Little                                 |
| skull,                                               | Folks to death.                                                       |

### APPLICATION.

If *Kings* would fight themselves alone,  
Their *People* still secure,  
No Mortal Man would part 'em sure,  
But let them e'en fight on.  
But when the Subject's blood is spilt,  
And all their pockets drain'd,  
To justify a Princes guilt,  
Or have his power maintain'd :  
When they must pay for ail at last,  
That pride, ambition or revenge lay waste  
The poorest Man alive may fear,  
And pray against the miseries of War.

# THE ORIGIN OF NOBILITY,

Shewing, by what means *Power* and *Titles* have generally been acquired, and how they have been supported.

*Addressed to the People of England.*

*Avaritiam et arrogantiam præcipua validiorum vitia.*—*Tacit.*



**I**F we examine the origin of Nobility and Royal Grandeur; if we trace the genealogies of Princes and Potentates up to their first fountain, we shall find the first fathers of these noisy pedigrees to be cruel Butchers of Men, Oppressors, Tyrants, perfidious Truce-breakers, Robbers, and Parricides, in a word the most primitive Nobility was no other than potent wickedness or dignified impiety. And all the successive continuation of it, by election, inheritance, or otherwise, even to these modern times, are but so many channels of exorbitant power, acquired and propagated by the most enormous vices, by practices unworthy of Men, and of which the authors themselves are always ashamed; therefore they cover their unjust encroachments and invasions, with the specious pretexts of justice and virtue, calling that conquest which is no other than downright robbery, and professing themselves Patrons of Men's Liberties and Rights, Religion and Laws, whilst in effect they are the greatest Oppressors; Hypocrites, Atheists and Outlaws in the world.

What were the four renowned Monarchies, but so many empires of Banditti Governments of free Booters, Pirates and licensed Thieves? As Diomedes the pirate, told Alexander the Great: "I" says he, "because I play the private Corsair, and cruize up and down the Seas with one single Ship, am accused as a Pirate; Thou that dost the same with a mighty Fleet, art called Emperor: If thou wert alone, and in Chains, as I am, they would esteem and call thee no better than a Thief;

Thief; and were I, at the head of a numerous Army, as thou art, I should be revered as an Emperor; for as to the justice of our cause, there is no difference but this, thou dost more mischief than I; *misfortune* has *compelled* me to be a thief; whereas nothing but an intolerable pride and insatiable avarice put thee upon the same course of life; If fortune would prove more favourable to me, perhaps I might become better; whereas thy continual successes make thee but the worse."

Alexander admiring the boldness and undaunted resolution of the man, gave him a considerable command in his army, that so he might henceforward rob and plunder by authority.

But to begin higher in antiquity with the empire of the Assyrians, founded by Ninus, in the blood and slaughter, ruin and destruction of all his neighbours, and increased after the same manner by his wife, Semirimis, who begging of her husband that she might reign for five days, and he granting her request, she put on the royal ornaments, and sitting on the throne, commanded the guards to degrade and kill her husband, which being done, she succeeded in the empire, adding Ethiopia to her dominions, carrying a war into India, and encompassing Babylon with a magnificent wall, at last she was killed by her own son Ninyas.—Thus was the Assyrian Monarchy established in parricide, regicides, and treason; and by the same methods, Arbactus translated it to the Medes, he having caused Sardanapalus, the last and most effeminate of all the Assyrian Kings, to die in the midst of his concubines.—Thus was treachery and murder handed down with the sovereign power, till at length Cyrus, the Persian, transferred them to his country; whose son Cambyses rais'd  
the

the second universal Monarchy on the additional ruins of many other kingdoms, cementing it with the blood of his Brother and son; yet after all, it was translated to the Macedonians by Alexander the Great, not without an equal guilt of parricide and other exorbitant vices, from whom at last it devolved to the Romans.

Tis needless to mention the scandalous birth of Romulus and Remus, the twin sons of an incestuous vestâl, or their debauched education under a common prostitute, fabulously veiled by the Roman historians, under the title of a wolf, to render the origin of their empire miraculous. It will seem invidious to recount the horrid fratricide committed by Romulus on his brother Remus, or the celebrated rape of the Sabine women, or to call to mind the detestable murder of Tattius, the good old Captain of the Sabines, with many other barbarous massacres. Yet these enormous crimes were the foundations of the Roman Grandeur and Nobility, so formidable afterwards to the whole earth: and the superstructure was answerable through all the various changes and revolutions of government, even to the reign of Augustus Cæsar, under whom Rome gained the title of the fourth universal Monarchy; yet this Emperor, though he was esteemed the most merciful and just prince upon earth. established his throne in the blood of his kindred, sacrificing the children of his Uncle to the ends of state; and, that he might not deviate from the ingratitude of other Princes, he barbarously extinguished the offspring of his father's brother, who had adopted him to the inheritance of the imperial dignity. Scorning by an unkingly tenderness to spare the glorious names of Anthony and

and Cleopatra, to whom he was nearly related; and who had invested him with the power of being so inhuman,

If we pass from these mighty empires to kingdoms of less note, we shall still trace the footsteps of the same vices. Both antient and modern are full of these tragedies. The original Kingdom of Greece took its rise from the parricide of Dardanus; and the female empire of the Amazons was founded in the horrid massacre of their Husbands. All ages and nations afford us examples of this nature, and the highest honours, dignities and commands were ever acquired and maintained by the highest injustice.

*Agathocles, the Sicilian*, rose not only from a private, but from a mean and abject condition, to be King of *Syracuse*. This man, the son of a Potter, led a criminal and profligate life throughout all the degrees of his fortune. Nevertheless, his vices were accompanied with such courage and activity, that having betaken himself to the army he came by the several steps to be Prætor of *Syracuse*. He was no sooner settled in that post, but he resolved to make himself Sovereign of the City, and to hold by violence, without obligation to any man, what had been conferred upon him by consent. For that purpose he entered into a correspondence with *Hamilcar*, who then headed the *Carthaginian* Army in *Sicily*. Having one morning assembled the People and Senate of *Syracuse*, as if it had been to consult them about public and important affairs, he gave his Soldiers a signal which he had before appointed; whereupon they immediately slew all the Senators and the richest of the Citizens. After their death, he usurped

stirped the sovereignty of Syracuse, and possessed it without any molestation from his subjects. Thus did Agathocles aggrandize himself by murdering his fellow citizens, betraying his Friends, and acting without any regard to faith, piety, or religion.

*Oliverotto da Fermo*, having been left an Orphan, was brought up by his Uncle on the Mother's side, whose name was *John Fogliani*, and in his youth was listed a soldier under *Paul Vitelli*, to learn the art of War, and thereby attain some considerable command in the Army. *Vitelli* dying, he served afterwards under that General's Brother *Vitellozzo*; and being a man of parts, courage, and good appearance, he quickly rose to be one of *Vitellozzo's* principal Officers. But thinking it beneath him, and servile, to be longer under any superior, he resolved with the assistance of the *Vitelli*, to make himself master of *Fermo*; and for this purpose entered into a conspiracy with some of the Inhabitants of that City, who preferred slavery to Liberty. Whereupon he wrote to *Fogliani* his Uncle, that after so many years absence, he intended to come and visit him and his native Country, and take a view of his inheritance. And that as he had long served in the wars merely to purchase reputation and honour, he proposed to make such a figure at his entry, as might shew his fellow citizens that his time had not been ill spent: He therefore desired admittance for an hundred horse of his Friends and equipage, and begged he would procure them an honorable reception, both for his own reputation and for his Uncles who had brought him up. *Fogliani* was wanting in no good office on behalf of his Nephew; so that he was received in *Fermo* with

with great distinction, and lodged in *Fogliani's* house. A few days after, when he had made the necessary dispositions for perpetrating his design, he prepared a magnificent entertainment, to which he invited his Uncle, and all the principle citizens. The feast was over with the other diversions which were usual on such occasions, when *Oliverotto* purposely brought in some serious discourse concerning the Pope and his son *Cæsar Borgia*, their grandeur and their enterprizes.— His Uncle and the other guests partaking of the discourse, he started up on a sudden, and said 'these were affairs of too great moment not to be discoursed of in a more private place.' Accordingly he retired into a chamber, whither he was followed by the whole company. No sooner were they sat down, but some soldiers, who were concealed about the chamber, rushed in and murdered them all. *Fogliani* and the principle Citizens being thus dispatched, *Oliverotto* mounted on horseback, rode up and down the City, cleared it of all his suspected enemies, and besieged the chief Magistrate in his palace. Whereupon the rest of the Citizens, through fear, submitted, and settled a Government of which *Oliverotto* assumed the sovereignty. After dispatching all the malecontents, who had any power to hurt him, he so well secured himself by several new laws, both civil and military, that in less than one year he was not only fixed in the sovereignty of *Fermo*, but grown formidable to all his neighbours.

## AN ENGLISHMAN.

Old Brompton,  
September 25th. 1793.

*An Extremepore on seeing a Lawyers Office converted into a  
Chandlers Shop.*

**B**LESS me! what change is here? my Friends pray hope:  
A Lawyers Office turn'd into a Chandler's Shop!  
Though odd indeed appears this alteration,  
The Lord send such a one through all the Nation.

SYPHAX.

*History of England, continued. By Old Hubert.*

**F**ILLED with gratitude, affection and admiration, his subjects considered him as something more than human. The skies resounded with acclamations, not more for the recovery of their longlost King, then from the anticipation of assured victory. Alfred seized the propitious moment and led them directly to the enemy. The Danes surprised and alarmed by an attack so unexpected, soon gave way; and after suffering considerable slaughter, were irrecoverably routed.

Although Alfred possessed a mind too strong to be made the dupe of Monks, yet had he so fully imbibed the principles of christianity, that he was not disposed to treat a conquered foe with unnecessary severity; he therefore received under his protection Guthrum and his vanquished followers, on condition of their being baptized in the christian faith.

He now repaired the damages which had been made by the Danes; rebuilt the cities, established a formidable navy; and formed a regular Militia through the whole Country; chusing, rather than introduce *the curse of a standing army*, to put *arms of peace and defence* into the hands of all his subjects.

The

The regulations of this Prince laid the foundations for some of our best civil and judicial institutions. England he divided into Counties, the Counties into Hundreds and the Hundreds into Tythings.—Ten Householders formed a Tything; Fribourg, or Decennary, and had a Tything-man, Headbourg, or Borsholder presiding over each; The Hundred consisted of ten decennaries, or an hundred families of free-men, these were regularly assembled once in four weeks.—The superior Court was the County Court, composed of the whole of the Freeholders, who were assembled for this purpose twice a year.

Twelve Freeholders and the Magistrate of the Hundreds constituted a Court of Justice, being all sworn to administer impartial justice in the causes that were brought before them.—In this institution we may discover the origin, in this Country, of trial by Jury, that palladium of Liberty, that bulwark which protects the best Rights of Man; before these can be successfully attacked, the fair trial by Jury must be overthrown: and, be it remembered, that this is not to be done more effectually, than by the introduction of men into a Jury, who are *packed* or *chosen*, in consequence of their suppleness and servility, and their known disposition to favour the wishes of those in power. If it ever be in the power of an officer under the Crown so to manage this business, that he may in reality select the members of a Jury, so as to preclude the accused from the slightest chance of Justice, this precious right, bequeathed to us by the great Alfred *is stolen from us*, then we may cry, “We are robbed, insolently robbed of our dearest birthright,”

A scholar himself, and therefore apprised of the benefits resulting from learning; Alfred promoted to the utmost of his power, the propogation of useful knowledge. The arts and sciences under his fostering hand might be said to put forth their young, but vigorous shoots. More the Parent than the Monarch, he heaped not up in his coffers *Millions of Gold*, extorted by grinding and oppressive taxes, but appropriated a very considerable part of his revenue to the relief of the old and infirm poor: so much had he the benefit of the poor at heart, and so little attention have his successors paid to their pressing claims, that the situation of the indigent, is, at the present moment, little better than it was so long back as eighteen hundred years.

Even in these days, when every quarter of the world is ransacked, and every art exerted to supply the luxurious living of the rich, we yet behold the aged and dying poor driven from Parish to Parish, from one end of the Nation to the other; even yet the cruel law of settlement is permitted to harrass and ruin the industrious labourer.— Even in this enlightened age, as it is termed, under a Monarch who has been distinguished as the patron of the *pretty* and polite arts, no national establishment is to be found, by which the infant poor can obtain the *precious* boon of being *taught* to *read*. From this circumstance, the greater part of the poor know hardly any more of their native language than is just sufficient to express their wants; the advice of any well meaning friend must be carefully adapted to their small stock of language, or the unhapy object to whom it is addressed may undergo the imputation of hardness and obstinacy, for not attending to the benevolent remonstrance, when the fault may only rest in his inability of comprehension.

Seldom

Seldom does the humane and commiserative observer behold the son of poverty employed in conning the lessons of religion and morality: seldom does he see the poor and aged poring over the pages of holy writ, to comfort and support him in the remainder of his perilous, dreary, and miserable journey through the vale of life.—Unable to read, the poor man is deprived of one grand source of amusement for his leisure and perhaps solitary hours; that is withheld from him, which would have afforded him both improvement and delight; and little chance is there of his mind becoming stored with those divine precepts which would lead him into a life of virtue, and secure to him the cheering hope of eternal happiness.

Too frequently do we find the rich and fortunate, whilst indulging in all the luxuries of life, inveighing against the thoughtlessness, the extravagance, and the crimes of the poor: but reflection should teach these, that the most improvident, nay even the greatest criminal among the poor, might, with the advantages of instruction, have excelled both in abilities and goodness of disposition his injurious calumniators.

Had the institutions of this wise Prince been supported on the same benevolent principles on which they were first established, knowledge would have been universally diffused; ignorance and superstition would not have rendered the People of this Country the passive victims to the tyranny of many sanguinary monsters.

It was not by idle pomp or by menacing proclamations that Alfred sought to gain the respect and love of his subjects, No, Reason pointed out and inclination led him to adopt a widely different means; he admitted those only to the Republic,

who

who were distinguished by their probity, as well as by their knowledge, and only those to the Magistracy who were chosen by the People themselves.—Immediately dismissing those who were unequal to the office they had accepted, and severely punishing those who were guilty of malversations in office. The public good was the line which ever guided his conduct: by a constant regard to this, he fully secured the filial affections of his grateful subjects.

It was in the reign of this truly popular Prince, that the first CONVENTION of the People was held in England. This Convention was composed of the *Patriæ procuratores*; or the *Delegates* of all the Counties, the limits and numbers of the Counties having been first ascertained; so that the wishes and opinion of the People was fully and freely delivered on any public matter, in the *Wittenagemote* or *Assembly of Wise Men*.

Too much enlightened and too fond of his People to wish to rule a Nation of Slaves, Alfred held it as his opinion and even left it recorded in his will  
 “ THAT IT WAS JUST THAT THE ENGLISH SHOULD  
 “ EVER REMAIN FREE AS THEIR OWN THOUGHTS.”

*To be continued.*



*A sure way to prevent the threatened invasion by the French.*

If we fight and tax on for a year or two more,  
 The French, I dare say will ne'er touch on our shore,  
 For fear of the charge of maintaining the poor. }

# POLITICS FOR 'THE PEOPLE.

( NUMBER IV. )

---

PRICE TWO PENCE.

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*The MAN and his ASS,*

A F A B L E.

*Written in the Year 1698.*

**A** Wretched Churl was trav'ling with his *Ass*,  
Beneath two Panniers Load oppress'd;  
And hearing noise behind, cry'd to the Beast,  
Fly, my Friend *Roger*, fly apace;  
Else I'm undone, and all my Market's naught;  
And thou thyself wilt by the Rogues be caught.  
Caught? quoth the Beast, what if I be?  
What will it signify to me?  
My Panniers are so full, they'll hold no more;  
I carry *two*, and cannot carry *four*.  
'Twixt Rogues and you, I can no difference make,  
They are all Rogues to me, who break my Back.  
*Fly, fly from France, our Statesmen cry,*  
*And Slavery's cursed Yoke;*  
*Whilst with our Ancient Liberty,*  
*Our very Backs are broke.*  
*If France should prove our Foe, can she do more*  
*Than keep the Panniers on we had before.*

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*Verses on a late Occasion.*

**W**HEN falling Britain wish'd to save her State,  
\*Mouchards came forth, t' avert th' impending  
Fate;  
†*Leach, Vaughan, and Newman*, severally conjoin'd,  
To praise the King, and to enslave Mankind.  
*Pigott and Hodgson*, were to Dungeons sent  
Because they dar'd to speak of discontent;  
Say then ye Britons, where's your boasted charter?  
*Freedom* you've resign'd, and *Slavery* ta'en in barter.

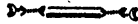
\*MOUCHARDS, INFORMERS.

†*Leach*, Master of the London Coffee-House.  
*Newman*, Oilman, Newgate Street.  
*Vaughan*, A Puffer of Bristol.

## S I R,

*Your Correspondent, Old Hubert, having asserted in your last number, that when an Officer under the Crown should possess the power of appointing the members of a Jury, we should have a right to exclaim, "We are robbed of our dearest birthright." I recommend for insertion in your next number, the following quotation from the speech of that inflexible and honest patriot (Mr. HORNE,) on his Trial for a Libel in the year 1777. That Englishman being reminded of the manner in which Special Juries are actually selected, and comparing a Trial by a Jury thus chosen, with such a Trial by Jury as we have a right to demand, may know how much gratitude is due to those who support those changes from the original principles of this excellent institution, which have been introduced by the infamous Panders to that most baneful lust of power, which, to the curse of this Kingdom, has predominated in the Hearts of most of its Monarchs.*

## A SLAVE.



THE special Jury you may imagine are taken indifferently, and, as it may happen, from a book containing all the names of, those who are liable to serve; I thought so when I read the Act of Parliament appointing the manner in which they should be taken; But when I came to attend to strike the special Jury, a book with names was produced by the Sherriff's Officer; I made what I thought an unexceptionable proposal. I desired the Master of the Crown Office, (whom I do not mean the slightest charge upon) that he would be pleased to take that book, open it where he would, begin where he would, at the top or at the bottom, and only take the first forty-eight names that came. I said I hoped that to such a proposal the Solicitor of the Treasury could have nothing to object. I was mistaken, he had some thing to object; he thought that not a fair way, (turning round to the Attorney General) there were Witnesses enough present, and I should surely be ashamed to misrepresent what eight or nine People were present at: he thought that not a fair way: he thought and proposed as the fairest way, that two should be taken out of every leaf; that I objected to, I called that picking and

and not striking the Jury. To what end or purpose does the law permit the parties to attend, if two are to be taken by the Master of the Crown-office out of every leaf? Why then need I attend? Two may as well be picked in my absence as in my presence. I objected to that method; the Master of the Crown-office did not seem to think that I had proposed any thing unreasonable: he began to take the names, but objected that he could not take the first forty-eight that came because they were not all Special Jury-men; and that the names of common and special Jury-men were mixed together; and that it would be a hard case that the party should pay the expence of a Special Jury, and not have one; that they were expected to be persons of a superior rank to common Jury-men: I could have no objection to that, provided they were indifferently taken. I said, take then the first forty-eight Special Jury-men that come; he seemed to me that he meant to do it; he began, but as I looked over the book, I desired him to inform me how I should know whether he did take the first forty-eight Special Jury-men that came, or not; and what mark, or description, or qualification there was in the book, to distinguish a special from a common Jury-man? He told me, to my great surprise (and he said, he supposed I should wonder at it) that there was no rule by which he took them. Why then how can I judge? You must go by some method — what is your method? At last the method was this, that when he came to a man, a Woollen-draper, a Silver-smith, a Merchant (if Merchant was opposite to his name, of course he was a Special Jury-man,) but a Woollen-draper, a Silver-smith, &c. he said that they were persons who were working men of those trades, and there were others in a situation of life fit to be taken. How then did he distinguish? no otherwise than this — if he personally knew them to be men in reputable circumstances, he said he took them; if he did not know them, he passed them by. Now, Gentlemen, what follows from this?

But this is not all. The Sheriffs officer stands by, the Solicitor of the Treasury, his clerk, and so forth, and whilst the names are taken, if a name (for they know their distinction) which they do not like occurs, and turns up, the Sheriffs officer says, "O, Sir, he is dead." The Defendant, who does not know all the world, and cannot know all the names in that book, does not desire a dead man for his Jury-man. "Sir, that man has retired." "That man does not any longer live where he did." "Sir, that man is too old." "Sir, this man has failed, and become a bankrupt."

"Sir,

"Sir, this man will not attend." O (it is said very reasonably) "Let us have men that will attend, otherwise the purposes of a Special Jury is defeated." It seemed very extraordinary to me — I wrote down the names, and two of them which the Officer objected to I saved. "I begged them not to kill men thus without remorse, as they have done in America, merely because he understood them to be friends to liberty — that is very true; we shall see them alive again next week, and happy, but let them be alive to this cause." The first name I took notice of was Mr. SAINSBURY, a tobacco-nist on Ludgate-hill. The Sheriffs officer said, he had been dead seven months — that struck me. I am a snuff-taker, and buy my snuff at his shop, therefore I knew Mr. Sainsbury was not so long dead: I asked him strictly, if he was sure Mr. Sainsbury was dead; and how long he had been dead — "Six or seven months." "Why, I read his name to-day, he must then be dead within a day or so. For I saw in the newspapers that Mr. Sainsbury was appointed by the city of London, one of the Committee," (it happened to be the very same day) "to receive the toll of the Thames Navigation;" and as the city of London does not often appoint dead men for these purposes, I concluded that the Sheriffs officer was mistaken; and Mr. Sainsbury was permitted to be put down amongst you, Gentlemen, appointed for this Special Jury.

Another gentleman was Mr. TERRITT — the book said he lived, I think, in Puddle-dock. The Sheriffs officer said, "That gentleman was retired; he was gone into the country; he did not live in town." It is true; he does (I am told) frequently go into the country, (for I enquired). His name was likewise admitted with some struggle. Now what followed? This dead man and this retired man were both struck out by the Solicitor of the Treasury; the very men whom the Sheriffs officer had killed and sent into the country were struck out, and not admitted to be of the Jury. — Now, Gentlemen, what does that look like? There were many other names of men that were dead and had retired, which were left out.

There is something more unfortunate in the case of a Special Jury. The Special Jurymen, if they fail to attend that trial for which they are appointed, are never censured, fined, nor punished by the Judge. In the trial of one of the Printers, only four of the Special Jury attended. This is kind in the Chief Justice, but it has a very unkind consequence to the Defendant, especially in a trial of this nature: for I will tell you what the consequence is. The best men  
and

and the worst men are sure to attend upon a Special Jury, where the Crown is concerned; the best men, from a nice sense of their duty; the worst men from a sense of their interest. The best men are known by the Solicitor of the Treasury; such a one cannot be in above one or two verdicts; he tries no more causes for the Crown. There is a good sort of man, who is indeed the most proper to try all this kind of causes; an impartial, moderate, prudent man, who meddles with no opinions; that man will not attend, for why should he get into a scrape. He need not attend; he is sure not to be censured; why should he attend? The consequence follows that frequently only four or five men attend, and those such as particularly ought not to attend in a Crown cause. I do not say that it happens now, not that I care; I do not mean to coax you, Gentlemen, I have nothing to fear — you have more to fear in the verdict than I have, because your consciences are at stake in the verdict. I will do my duty, not for the sake of the verdict. Now what follows this permission to Special Jury-men to attend or not, as they like best? Why every man that is gaping for a contract, or who has one, is sure to shew his eagerness and zeal.

It happened so in the trial of the first cause for this advertisement. The Printer shewed me the list — among them one of the first I observed was Sir James Esdaile, alderman of London, and a contractor for the army — there were several others; I do not mention the gentlemen's names. He would have struck him out; I said no: There are so many bad that ought to be struck out, leave in Sir James; it is impossible that a magistrate of London, with so much business! a contractor under the Crown! if he has any modesty! he cannot, an alderman of London! go down to be Special Jury-man in Middlesex! — he was the Foreman of the Jury. He was sure to attend. And so they got the first verdict, in order to give them this influence upon men's minds. — "We have got a verdict; this question has been determined by a Jury."

Well, Gentlemen, having then got such a Special Jury as he usually does get (for it seldom happens that twelve gentlemen have sense enough of their duty to attend, as happens to be now my case) the Attorney-general brings on the trial; he then claims, amongst other things, a right to reply, though no evidence is called for the Defendant.

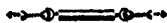
But besides this, I told you before, that he claims a right of stopping it when he pleases, by withdrawing a Juror — I should be glad to hear that contradicted and given up.

But

But further, if he loses the verdict he pays no costs; the Crown pays no costs. The miserable man that is harrassed, even though innocent, though gaining a verdict under all these disadvantages (if it is possible, and which seldom happens) yet still he must stand by the costs; and they may be, you see, whatever they please to make them.

Again, if the Attorney-general gains a verdict, he punishes whom he pleases, and when he pleases. I think there were eight convictions for this advertisement, yet but three have been called up to judgement—one, I believe was let off because there was a little false swearing in the case by an officer under the Crown — (I allow it certainly to have been a mistake, because he is a Gentleman of character) and therefore it is accounted for how this one got off; but how the other Printers escaped, whether from the benevolence of the Attorney-general, I do not know.

That is not all — He aggravates the punishment of the person against whom he gets a verdict, if he pleases.



## T H E C A M P A I G N .

*Written in the Year 1692.*

AND ADAPTED, WITH SOME TRIVIAL VERBAL  
ALTERATIONS, TO THE PRESENT TIME,

*A number of PR...s, tho' poor ones 'tis true,  
In Confederacy join'd, the FRENCH to undo,  
But if they should fail, then woe to the Crew  
Of Banditti.  
All snotty and snorting, like Horse that had Glanders,  
All tatter'd, they form the Mob of Commanders,  
All poorer than JOB, were got into FLANDERS —  
'Tis pity!*

W H E N people find their Money spent,  
They like to know which way it went,  
They like in order to prevent

For th' future.

For

For what, I know not very well,  
That *Money's* spent I need not tell,  
Unless to make Folks to Rebel

Or Tutor.

But lest you think it spent in vain,  
And of our Hero's Act complain,  
I will describe our late Campaign  
in *Flanders*,

With *Treasure, Ships*, and *Arms* good store,  
To make the *French* (as we be) poor,  
He did embark with many more  
Commanders,

While cares were fighting in his breast,  
And nothing left (but *Wife*) unprest,  
He took, not staying to be bless'd,  
his Ark Sir.

Hast'ning to make some work for Verse,  
Fit for dull *Dutchmen* to rehearse;  
Where *Wit* and *Courage* are so scarce,  
d'ye mark, Sir.

With fifteen Thousand Men, and more,  
Some hundred Ships to waft them o'er,  
With sixty Cannons that would roar  
like Thunder.

Some fifty Mortars great and small,  
Bombs, Carcases, the Devil and all,  
And bloody *Threats* sent from *Whiteball*,  
you'd wonder.

Spades, Shovels, Pioneers they got,  
Guns, Swords, sav'd all since *Oates's* Plot,  
At *Woolwich* made, if I am not  
mistaken,

Bridles and Saddles not a few,  
With Harnesses for Mankind too,  
To shew the *French* what they must do.  
if taken.

By *Watson* they were well supplied  
 With Turtle and with Beef beside,  
 For fear the *French* should not provide  
 enough, Sir.

And armed with a pious Zeal  
 For kings divine 'gainst Commonweal,  
 And courage true as any Steel,  
 or Buff, Sir.

This grand Design was deeply laid,  
 If it be true as People said,  
 That in our hands would be betray'd,  
 poor *Dunkirk*.

The others said they were to go  
 In dusk of Night to *Domingo*,  
 To burn the Ships and maul the Foe  
 with *Dungfork*,  
 All thus equipt, Wind sitting Right,  
 They hoisted Sail with all their Might,  
 And safely past the Isle of *Wight*  
 and *Dover*.

Strange hopes and fears did us possess  
 To know what would be the success,  
 When on a sudden a strange express,  
 came over.

Which brought advice that *C—g*, he  
 With *Y—'s y—g* Duke could not agree;  
 So was our project utterly  
 defeated.

To get in order this Descent  
 Some hundred thousand Pounds werespent;  
 So you, and not the Government  
 were cheated.

To carry on his great *Design*,  
 Early one Morning very fine,  
 He did *resolve* to force their *Line*  
 and *Trenches*.

With Swords, and Guns and Hand Grenadoes,  
 He made his way through *Ambuscadoes*,  
 And

And beat down some o'th *Palisadoes*  
of the *Frenches*.

So there began a *warm Dispute*,  
The *French* were strong and held him to't;  
For *then they* order'd all their Foot  
to draw forth.

When *Two* Fight, one must always beat,  
Tis said; but that's a meer *deceit*;  
For Y——k only did retreat,  
and so forth.

A few indeed were prisoners made,  
And *many* so dispirited,  
That some say they were quite dead,  
But I won't

Then Y——did soon decamp we find.  
As if to Fight no more inclin'd,  
Leaving the Lord knows what behind,  
for I don't.

With that he muster'd all his Force,  
Many a thousand Foot and Horse,  
That never flinch'd or hung an arse  
when fighting.

And march'd away with noble train,  
For all Endeavours prov'd in vain,  
From Dunkirk he march'd back again,  
like Light'ning.

The *silly Rain* it made him fret;  
Not that he fear'd the *French* a bit  
But that it was such *plaguy wet*  
raw Weather.

We boldly view'd their *dirty Passes*,  
And *strong Entrenchments* where no *Grafs* is,  
And so retir'd like *driven Affes*  
together.

The *Dutch*, who likewise knew the Land,  
Found it too *slippery* to stand,  
And therefore would not be *trepan'd*,  
as we were.

For so to *Fight* at any rate,  
Without *Affurance* of their *Fate*,  
Or a respect to *future State*,

is not fair.

Thus between *French* that do us *beat*,  
And *Dutch* that do us daily *cheat*,  
Our *Grief* and *Ruin* must be *great*

I fear it.

*Iffacbar's* Arms may ours be made,  
An Ass beteen two burdens laid,  
To both for being fools betray'd

you'll swear it.

Oh! dear what will become of us?  
We're ruin'd both in guts and purse,  
Our masters they get worse and worse,

P plague take 'em.

The poor are robb'd —Aye! robb'd I mean,  
By Rogues that do each other screen,  
The Devil must have them soon, I ween,  
And bake 'em



*Extracts from Political and Moral Observations.*

( PUBLISHED MORE THAN A CENTURY AGO. )

**I**NASMUCH as these Kings, Princes, Courtiers,  
and pharisaical Priests, who are esteemed to be  
wise and virtuous for no other reason than that  
they have put on the mask of wisdom and virtue,  
whereas they are indeed ignorant, foolish and vici-  
ous, knowing that the common people, who judge  
by their eyes, always have a great value for things  
they know not, and a mean opinion of those they  
know. They have great reason to take care, that  
their mask be not pull'd off, nor their inward vi-  
ces and imperfections exposed to public view, by  
any of their subjects who come to discover them,  
through the vizer that concealed them. To this  
end

end therefore they are not wont to neglect, to set all their wits to work, and exert all their authority, to lay a snare for those innocent men, who are come to a knowledge of their villanies, and to procure them to be accused and put to death as traitors to their country or as heretics, either upon the information of their friends and servants, whom they bribe and corrupt to bear false witness, or at least at the instigation of the tumultuous rabble, whom they set on, and encourage against them; so that those innocent subjects, only for that they have seen the defects of the Church and State, not knowing to whom to trust, or where to fly for safety, are driven up and down like fearful and hunted stags, 'till at length they are surprised and caught in the snare that those kings, princes, or hypocritical priests laid to take them.



### *The DISGUISED SHEPHERD.*

A Butcher, who had put on a shepherd's cloathing, daily lay in wait for a flock of sheep, and as often carried away one of the best headed, strongest, and fattest of them all, and killed it; nor did the others make any resistance, but always said, that the ram or ewe, or whatever it were, was the most of the whole flock given to butting and bleating, and therefore well deserved to die for disturbing them. This lasted for some time, 'till at length the weak and tender lambs fell a prey to the Butcher, and cried out in a pitiful manner — “ If our parents had been of one mind, and not envious to one another, they might have united together, and easily have driven away the Butcher, then this misfortune had never happened either to them

them or us, but their discord and envy was the occasion of their death, and is now of ours — But the unanimous, harmless Doves certainly behaved themselves much better ; a pair of them was taken in a net, and each of them in vain often endeavoured to fly up — the net as often oppressed and kept them down, 'till the wisest of the two said thus to the other doves, it will cost us our lives if we get not free before the fowler comes, we see that neither of us are able to fly away with the net that covers us, but if we join all our forces together, and fly up at the same time, we shall easily be able to carry away the net, and drop it where-ever we please. The other doves approved of this design, and going all under the net, unanimously flew up together, and bore the net on their extended wings till they came to a neighbouring high tree, where they let it drop, and flying from under it, recovered their former well beloved liberty.

*The Editor presents his Readers (with a full assurance of affording them pleasure) the following spirited quotation from The Peripatetic — a work, in which the most liberal and philanthropic sentiments will be found, clothed in a style truly pleasing and original.*

**I**NDEPENDENT of the pleasure which the wealthy might derive from encouraging the industry, relieving the occasional distresses, and contributing to the comfort and decency of the poor inhabitants of adjacent cottages ; — or, above all, from providing, at a small expence, for the cultivation of the mind of that swarm of children which such little habitations generally pour forth — the state-predestined heirs of almost savage ignorance ! — Independent of these considerations,

rations upon which the divine (could he but awhile forget his own abject dependence upon flattered greatness) might so properly expiate — can any thing form a more delightful contrast to the stately pile whose ornamented pillars are hewn from the costly treasures of the quarry, the surrounding groves, the spacious walks, the laboured stream, the attic temple, and the decorating statue, and all the splendid works of taste and magnificence, than the humble thatch, covered, perhaps, by the mantling vine, the little casement, the rustic wicket, and the fence of goss or ozier that secures a few pot-herbs from invading cattle? Can any thing more enliven the scene than the pranks of ruddy infants, poured from beneath the lowly roof? the whistle of the honest husbandman, trudging cheerfully to his toil at morn? or his plodding gait, at evening, when, wearied with his daily task, propping his steps upon the crooked staff, snatched promiscuously from the adjacent thicket, he returns contentedly home, and smiles to see the little column of smoke circling from his chimney, which betokens the preparation for his homely repast?

But purse-proud Grandeur is not without a plea for its insensibility: and stern-browed Justice, armed with her two edged sword, but robbed of her equal balance, is brought forward to be the executioner of wanton Tyranny. *Those cottagers, we are told, are thieves, and he, therefore who routs the greatest number of them away, is consequently the best friend to the neighbourhood:—*That is to say, to the gentry of the *neighbourhood*: for though the poor and common people out-number these *gentry* ten to one, yet these are no more to be taken into the account when any *thing* with a bit of silk about it talks of *neighbourhood*, than the hedges that fence the fields, or the stones and gravel that compose the road.

And

And are they thieves, then?—are these poor wretches thieves? —Shame on their dishonesty! rude and untutored as they are!—depressed, neglected, purposely confined in ignorance!—Shame on their dishonesty! While *Placemen* and the *tools of Placemen* plunder the realm by wholesale, and with the profits of their rapine, purchase of pretended representatives the permission to plunder us still more: and enslave us—rob us of the liberty of reasoning into the bargain!—Shame on these low born, half-starved cottage wretches!—While mighty \*\*\*\*s, and descendants from the bastard blood of \*\*\*\*s, rob us by L\*\*\*\*rs P\*\*\*\*t—suffer not a coal to blaze within our grates, or an action to be brought for the recovery of a just debt, till they have levied contribution upon us!—shall low plebeians,—vulgar, base born hinds, born in the pale of matrimonial beggary, dare to violate the sacred fences of their masters?—and when the sharp biting winter freezes their joints, and the scanty earnings of their industry will scarcely furnish them with so much food as may keep life and soul together, shall they presume to snatch a wretched stake from him who wallows in indulgence, to make a little fire in their crazy cabbins, that they may not retire with joints quite benumbed to the poorly covered bed?

The language of the satyrist breathes but too correctly the active sentiment of mankind.

- “ Beggars of every age and nation,
- “ Are rogues and fools from situation ;
- “ The rich and great are understood
- “ To be of course both wise and good.”

CHURCHILL:

W A R:

## W A R.      W A R.

**T**HE Crimes in which he involves himself by engaging in an unjust War, are innumerable; and it is of the last Importance, that he be made sensible, in what Horror they ought to be held. 'Tis he alone who sheds the Blood of all who are sacrificed to his ambition, or other Passions. 'Tis he who plunges the Dagger into the Hearts of his Subjects. He alone is the Murderer of all such as perish in the Troops of his Enemies. The mutual Slaughter is placed to his Account. The whole Torrent of Blood, shed on both sides, will be demanded at his Hands. At the heavenly Tribunal he will stand guilty of all the fatal consequences of War, the Waste, the Ravages committed by both Parties, the Rapine and Disorders, not to be prevented by the most vigilant and exact Generals.

This hideous Load of Crimes and Iniquities will overwhelm him; to counterpoise this Deluge of Blood, these Burnings, these Desolations and Cruelties spread over Town and Country, will be placed in the opposite Scale, some, I know not what, frivolous Passion, which the wretched Prince sought to satisfy by such monstrous Methods: The Balance will be held in the Hand of a just God, who severely condemns a simple Murderer, and has enjoined the Prince to punish such with Rigour; and who has put the sword into his Hand, that he may controul the Passions of others, far from allowing him to employ it in Complaisance to his own.

What Idea would such a Prince entertain of a Man who by a Power equal to his Barbarity, should out of a Frolic, put to Death one Citizen  
after

after another; should pitch upon his most faithful Servants, as the properest Victims; who should order some Houses, perhaps a whole Village or Town, to be set on fire for his Diversion; or should think it an agreeable Amusement to lay a Country waste. In such a Case, he cannot avoid punishing the Miscreant; his Indignation would rise at the inhuman Pastimes of such a Brute, who should divert himself at the Expence of the Lives and Fortunes of those Men, he ought to protect.

But this is only a slight Sketch of what he does himself: for where is the Proportion between whole Armies sacrificed to his Vanity, and some Citizens sacrificed to the Cruelty of the Barbarian? What are some Houses, burnt down in different Places, in comparison of whole Cities destroyed? What Value ought one to put upon some Fields, the Harvest of which has been ruined, when he thinks of Provinces where Fire and Sword have laid all desolate?

From the French of Abbe Duguet, in the Year 1740.

# POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE.

( NUMBER V. )

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PRICE TWO PENCE.

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There in brib'd Committee, they contrive,  
To give our Birthrights to Prerogative,  
Give, did I say? They sell, and sell so dear,  
That half each Tax D— distributes there.

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## WHAT MAKES A LIBEL? A FABLE.

IN *Æsop's* new-made World of Wit,  
Where Beasts could talk, and read, and write,  
And say and do as he thought fit;  
A certain Fellow thought himself abus'd,  
And represented by an *Ass*,  
And *Æsop* to the Judge accus'd  
That he defamed was.  
Friend, quoth the Judge, How do you know,  
Whether you are defam'd or no?  
How can you prove that he must mean  
You, rather than another Man?  
Sir quoth the Man, it needs must be,  
All Circumstances so agree,  
And all the Neighbours say 'tis Me.  
That's somewhat, quoth the Judge, indeed;  
But let this matter pass,  
Since 'twas not *Æsop*, 'tis agreed,  
But *Application* made the *Ass*.

---

Two ways pointed out by which any poor Manufacturer deprived of work by this blessed War, may be enabled to obtain a morsel of bread.

BEING thrown by this ruinous War, out of Work,  
Dick blest, in his way, DUNDAS, PITT, and BURKE:  
Then his wits he employed to find out the way,  
To prevent being forced to keep fast on chopt hay;  
After puzzling awhile, he cried out in a rage,  
That times are so bad that one cannot engage,  
One's belly to fill without selling one's Soul,  
To Slaughter our Brethren, or Wolves like to prowl,  
For no way I see there's to weather the Storm,  
But to 'list for a Soldier, or —rogue like inform.

NO WORK,

THE  
REMONSTRANCE,  
OF THE  
SWINISH MULTITUDE,

*To the Chief and Deputy Swineherds of Europe;*  
GREETING,

**I**LLUSTRIOUS and gracious Chiefs, and right worthy and benevolent Deputies, permit us, the Swine of those several countries, in which, at this day, the rage of blood-shedding so furiously prevails, to address ourselves to you on a subject the most important to us; which concerns nothing less than our lives and little properties. We know it is the duty of good and faithful swine to be grateful to their keepers, and to love the hand which feeds them: We acknowledge this duty in its full force, and hope, that we have hitherto, in all good faith, lived according to it; and in general, have in all things demeaned ourselves, as it became good and faithful swine to do. But, alas! sorry are we to see, and much more pungent is our distress, at being cruelly compelled, to proclaim to the world the grievances we labour under. Our swineherds have declared, from time to time, both to us and the world, that our prosperity was the thing which lay next their hearts—we believed their professions to be sincere, and implicitly submitted ourselves to them; we expected their protection, and hoped for the privilege of enjoying in peace the morsel we had provided for ourselves; but hitherto we have lived on fleeting hope only; the quietness and repose we expected have constantly fled from us, and we are to this day perpetually set together

together by the ears. to gratify the empty and vain, (not to say wicked) ambition of those, who have promised us peace and protection: And who, to degrade us farther in the judgement of the world, have raised the basest calumnies against us. We are charged with rebellion, ingratitude, dissatisfaction, disobedience to our swineherds, and thirsting for innovation; in a word, we are represented as animals devoid of common sense; ripe to commit the blackest treasons. These are the reports which are cruelly raised, and industriously circulated, to stigmatize and blacken our general character. But when our conduct is considered, they must appear infamous forgeries; diabolical fabrications; rebellion, ingratitude, and disobedience, cannot be laid to our charge; we are not the fickle multitude our enemies, who are the creatures of our swineherds, pretend; we admire the good old way, let them repair its defects, and we wish no innovation. Dissatisfied we are; and the turbulent spirits of our swineherds, their creatures and dependents, give us just cause so to be. Our roots and mast, acorns and berries, are all we crave; if they would let us enjoy them in peace we should be happy. But we have not that consolation; our swineherds do not permit us to enjoy the produce of our hard labour: when we have chafed our snouts to bare stumps of bone, by turning up the earth to procure a few roots, they send their deputies to take a great part of it to feed themselves, and they never fail to cull the best; this we have, from time to time, patiently borne, but, alas! to our inexpressible mortification, for these forty years past, we have seen the number of these plundering deputy swineherds rapidly increase, and to add to our misfortune, each of these has his circle

of sycophants, his levee of creatures surrounding him, while we, wretched we! are plundered to feed the whole, they grow fat on the choicest fruits of our labour, leaving us to shift on the refuse as well as we can. Nay, worse than this, our swineherds grow fat by feeding on the most delicate part of the produce of our labour, wax wantonly wicked, and concert, between themselves the basest schemes to injure us — not satisfied with depriving us of the best portion of that which our laborious snouts have provided, they cowardly covet what the whole world affords — their creatures (who in general are hostile to our race) are always at hand to second and support their infamous designs; then are we seized and torn with the most brutal violence, by their savage hands, from our sties, our little ones, and from all that is near and dear to us, and transported from our own into other countries, where our brethren, the swine of those countries, are also dragged out, and set to combat against us. Thus miserable is our estate and condition; In such distressful bondage are we held, that the World daily sees the swine of Russia and Turkey, Prussia, Germany, France, and Great-Britain, worrying each other with a rancour as inveterate as if they were animals of different species; and all this in pure passive obedience to our swineherds, for all must allow, that we, the swine of Great Britain, have no right to esteem ourselves superior, in the scale of beings, to the swine of France, or any other country; we regard our brethren, whether they be found in the East or Western Indies, or on the burning plains of Africa, with true fraternal affection; it is not in the nature of swine to dissemble their thoughts, nor to forge a countenance which belies the heart: No, that is the peculiar

peculiar property, or talent of our deceitful and cruel swineherds, and their servile crew. He, who boasts of his superlative advantages over other animals, derived from the light of reason, and yet grovels in the filth of the world, is infinitely beneath the humblest animal which breathes;—even we, the swinish race, known to a proverb for our gluttony and voraciousness, fall infinitely short of that excess into which our swineherds plunge.

But it must not be denied, that we have at least our pretended friends among our deputy swineherds, who, at certain periods, have cried aloud, with all their strength, against the oppressions practised on us; but whether real or only pretended, to deceive and insult our sufferers, let others judge. We ourselves, we must confess, are inclined to believe the latter, from the conduct of one or two of the most vociferous of them—we well remember the time when the first deputy swineherd, at this time in Great Britain, bawled loudly in our favour.—“Stop,” says he, “the effusion of their blood in America; no longer let British and American swine, so worry and tear each other; regulate our councils; admit some of the principal of them to assemble with us, their interest is ours; if they fail us, we are undone; they must be admitted into that part of the senate house appointed to their use.” But, alas! how changed from his former conduct; those very regulations he once strove to accomplish, he now opposes with his utmost ability and force; and with sorrow be it spoken, he has hitherto been but too successful in his opposition; he is even more brutal to us than his predecessors;—by his command, the net of state power and cruel policy is cast abroad, even over the whole

whole land; and we, like fish, are entangled therein, and blended with almost all the swine of Europe, to root out our Gallic brethren, to whose charge we have no greater crime to lay, than that they wished to be better friends with us than in time past; and that they were so cruelly oppressed by their swineherds, that they found themselves unhappily compelled to root them out. Another, who appeared not less strenuously to take our parts, is now become a vile apostate from our cause, we mean the celebrated Burke. No sooner does he get possession of a yearly allowance of the food which of right belongs to us, than he knavishly deserts us; whereas, if his heart was warmed with but one spark of that gratitude, which emanates from man's boasted prerogative, Reason, the reflection, that his pension (as it is stiled), was extorted from our labours, would have united him to us more firmly than ever. Thus are we situated; deserted by those we thought our friends; plundered by those who have us under their pretended protection; led out into every part of the world against our brethren; stimulated to shed their blood, overturn their habitations, and to root up their possessions. If our existence is not thus made miserable, we cannot conjecture what misery is, especially if it be considered, that our little acquired property, is daily taxed more and more; for it is an infamous maxim, with our swineherds, after they have kept us, for several years, contending and fighting with our brothers, to saddle us with all the cost; nay, so absolute are they become, and carry their rule with so high an hand, that they will not even permit us to complain of our miserable condition. We have many foolish brothers among us, who are easily attracted by glittering shew: these, the creatures  
of

of our swineherds, take care to bring over to their part, by representing to them how glorious and profitable it is to get possession of the property of our brethren in other countries, or to die in the attempt; and when we have been successful in our depredations, these simple emissaries, at all times, and all places, pompously proclaim the inconceivable value of the acquisition; whereas common sense, if we attend to it, will infallibly convince us, that no acquirements of fraud or rapine can be of any real utility to any swine in the world, if they could be retained; but our swineherds prevent our making the trial, by carefully appropriating them to support their own luxury, and to feed the hungry dogs that cringe around them, and serve to worry us; while the few of our species, who survive the diabolical slaughter, carried on year after year, are turned adrift in the world; our bodies mutilated, our property consumed, and doomed to pine under an insupportable load of want and misery the rest of our days. O swine! swine! when will ye be wise! when will ye consider these things? your future happiness and peace depends on your present conduct. Surely, it can be no crime to tell our swineherds, that they are not gods; that being men, they as well as swine are mortal; that a little in this world will be sufficient for the little time we have to live in it; that the possession of the whole world is too little to satisfy the pride, arrogance, and avarice of any one of the chief swineherds of Europe. We would not willingly tell them disagreeable truths; but when our very existence is at stake, necessity compels us to speak; we are weary of their conduct; we wish to live in peace with our neighbours; we have sufficient at home for our own

own necessities ; we do not covet our brother's property ; nor can we longer submit to be plundered of our own, by that worthless and devouring croud of wretches, who follow our swineherds whithersoever they go. Surely, we shall give no offence, if we request our keepers to dismiss the useless train, that they may go into the towns and villages, and buy themselves victuals ; or rather, let them learn to labour, working with their own hands, that they may be no longer chargeable to any. There is a saying, " That swine will neither lead nor drive ;" but our conduct has hitherto given the lie to this assertion ; for we have been both led and driven—how much longer we may continue passive, under our present and increasing oppressions is difficult to say ; but positive we are, that the driving days are nearly exhausted ; we have cast our grievances into one scale, and our passiveness into the other, and the former begins perceptibly to preponderate ; if it is pressed much farther, we shall, it is to be feared, recoil furiously on our drivers ; and then may we perhaps say, with our Jewish brethren of old, " Now, David, see to thine own house." May the prudence of our swineherds prevent this extremity. Lenity, and redress of grievances, will have considerable effects : Let them act properly, and they will perceive that our tractability and docility are greater than they supposed ; we wish but to enjoy peace, and the little property we daily procure ourselves, without being exposed to the ravage and insults of the mercenary bands of miscreants, retained in the train of our swineherds and their deputies. Let them henceforth plunge us into no unnecessary quarrels, nor send us out of our country, for we do not covet

covet our neighbours property, and we presume that our brethren do not covet ours. Let our swineherds also forego the enormous portions which they ravage from our labours. We say enormous ! for one chief is well known, being an islander, whose single portion would support forty thousand families of swine, consisting of five members in each family, at the rate of twenty-five pounds a year to each family ; we say, let them restore us the principal part of these enormous exactions, and learn to be content with a competency of the necessaries of life, and we shall be satisfied ; but that they will so far condescend to our wishes, we must confess that we have no very sanguine hopes. Their extortions have been so long continued, and they are so swollen with pride, and abandoned to avarice, that cruelty and oppression are become habitual to them ; like Shylock, they will have each his pound of flesh, although the hearts of all the swine in the whole world are laid bare for it. We again repeat, that we have been taught by woful experience, that almost all the quarrels in the world originate between the swineherds thereof ; and we, the helpless swine, are compelled to fight their battles for them, at the hazard of all our lives, the real loss of myriads of them, and the certain grievance of being loaded with the whole expence. We hereby enter our protest against this their unmanly conduct. If the swineherds quarrel, let them henceforth fight their own battles, and then we shall assuredly enjoy peace ; let them pay their own expences, and then we need not doubt but they will assiduously avoid contests ; but if it should happen, that any inconsiderate and foolish swine should be discovered nosing his neighbour's property,

perty, let his vile head pay the forfeit of his folly; this is the sum of what we have to say; but whether our swineherds will hear, or whether they will forbear, we know not; but this we know, that if they will not hear, we shall not much longer forbear, but shall endeavour, with all our might, to extricate ourselves from the devouring PIT into which we are fallen,



*As the cruel and arbitrary impositions which have been forced on the unhappy King and People of Poland, may be useful in pointing out to the people of the World, the abandoned villainy which results from a thirst of Power; and how low a degree of degradation a People may suffer, who possess not the power or the spirit to resist the execrable mandates of a Tyrant. We introduce the account of the late proceedings in that partitioned Country. On the 2d of September, the conference of the Diet was held under the influence of several pieces of Cannon, with which the Senate House was surrounded.*

THE last letters from Grodno of the 25th instant, prove, that our conjectures with regard to the final event of Negotiation with Prussia were not groundless. It ended as it begun, or rather surpassed all the violences exercised on the 2d of this month.

On the 23d, the Russian Ambassador, early in the morning, opened this Negotiation, by arresting four Members of the Diet, viz. *Krasnodemski*, of Liva, *Oxydlouski*, of Plock, *Mikerski*, of Wyszogrod, and *Skarynski*, of Lomza; whom he sent off immediately under a guard to the respective places they represent.

Next, he ordered two battalions of grenadiers with three pieces of cannon, to surround and block up all the avenues and gates of the Castle.

After

After these preliminaries, the Sitting of the Diet began. Its formal opening was strongly opposed, on the ground of a former Decree, that all deliberations should cease, whenever any violent acts should be employed against a Member of the Legislative Body.

In consequence, before the reading of the Ambassador's Notes was allowed, two Deputations were successively sent to him, to demand the liberty of the arrested Members. They were answered, both verbally and by note, with absolute refusal. The Notes were then read. The House conceiving itself to be in a passive state as being under foreign arms, and deprived of a free deliberation, would not proceed for many hours on any business, during which time, they witnessed a most distressing and humiliating scene, a Russian General, strutting to and fro in the middle of the Senate, in the presence of the King on the Throne, persuading and menacing alternately, the Members to sign unconditionally the demands of the *King of Prussia*.

Five hours were spent in this manner; at last, on the motion of Count *Ankwicz*, Nuncio of *Cracow*, it was agreed to make a solemn Declaration, or Protest, against the violent measures employed by the Russian Ambassador on the 2d of September, and this day; and that, to prove a total inactivity of the Diet, instead of expressing their sentiments in the usual manner, either by voting, or by acclamation, they should keep a mournful silence when the Marshal should propose the project in question. This was accordingly adopted.

Thus

Thus was obtained the consent to a cession, which is to justify it in the eyes of Europe and posterity. Thus ended this *extraordinary Negotiation*, unexampled in the annals of Diplomatic History; and thus, in consequence, was signed the treaty of cession of our Provinces to Prussia.

The three Notes of the Russian Ambassador presented that day, are curious and singular—they will be known to the Public. The Protest, however, of the Diet, ought to be particularly noted by the present generation, and all posterity.

*Declaration of the Diet.*

“ Surrounded closely by foreign troops on the 2d of this month, threatened with further invasion of the territory of the Republic by the Prussian armies, to its uttermost ruin, and oppressed by innumerable violences, the States in Diet assembled, were forced to give leave to their deputation for signing the imposed Treaty, with addition of a few clauses, and such only as the dictating power itself seemed, in pity to approve of. But with grief and surprize, we find by the sad experience of this day, that the Court of Berlin is not satisfied therewith. We see fresh acts of violence forcing a new project upon us; and, in order to support it, the same preponderant power, not contented with investing the place of our deliberations by an armed foreign force; with addressing to us Notes full of menaces—seizes from among us, and carries off four Members; and, by an unexampled proceeding, keeps *Us*, the *King*, bent under the weight of age, and under so manifold calamities; and *Us*, the *States* of the *Republic*, confined and imprisoned in the Senate.

“ Thus situated, *We do declare*, in the most solemn manner, that, unable to prevent, even with the risk of our lives, the effects of the oppressive force, we leave to our posterity, happier

pier perhaps than ourselves, those means of saving our dear country, whereof we are bereft at present and thus the project sent to us by the Russian Ambassador, though contrary to our laws, wishes, and opinions, forced by the above means to accept, *we do accept.*

Done at Grodno the 24th of September, 1793.

(Signed and ingrossed in the Public Records, according to Law.)

**I**N the present times, the ministerial partizans have constantly thrown out the most contemptible opinions of the *people at large*. What different sentiments the great Lord Somers entertained of this respectable body, and of their authority, will appear from the following extracts.

PHILO PATRIÆ.

No power can exempt Princes from the obligation to the eternal laws of God and Nature. In all disputes between Power and Liberty, Power must always be proved, but Liberty proves itself; the one being founded on positive law, the other upon the law of Nature.

If a Magistrate, notwithstanding all laws made for the well governing a community, will act destructive to that community, they are discharged either from active or passive obedience, and indispensibly obliged, by the law of Nature, to resistance.

The same reason that obliges people to submit to governors or magistrates, when they govern according to the laws and constitution of the country, and act for the good of the society, does as much oblige the people to oppose them, if they design their ruin and destruction. It cannot be supposed that God, who has obliged mankind to preserve their lives, and consequently to use the means that are necessary for that end, should require people to suffer themselves to be destroyed

destroyed, or made slaves, to gratify the lust or barbarity of any single person, or a few who are, by nature, their equals, and only above them, by being in an office which the people erected for their own convenience.

The cause is just which defends the laws, with protects the common good, which preserves the state; and that cause is unjust which *violates* the laws, defends the *breakers* of the laws, protects the subverters of the constitution; that is just, which doth *destroy tyrannical government*; that *unjust*, which would abolish just government.



**T**HERE are, in this country a description of inhabitants, both numerous and respectable, who are professed Levellers, in the true sense of the word; they are also Republicans in principle and sentiment; yet, of them, the Alarmists and Associators against Republicans and Levellers, have not taken the smallest notice. The above description of British inhabitants are, the Professed opposers of Wars, either Wars of interference or of conquest; and will not, if asked, hesitate to declare it, as their settled opinion, that, to enter into a war with any neighbouring nation, for the purpose of regulating the internal government, policy, trade, or commerce of that country, is as unjust as it would be for one neighbouring family to force regulations into that of other families, contrary to their inclinations: And that, cutting the throats of the inhabitants of any nation, on account of resisting an interference, so unprecedented and unjust, would be, and is Murder; as much as it would be in the imposing one family to cut the throats of that family who should resist their unjust impositions.

Yet

Yet these very people, although they are detesters of such wars, as have conquest, interference, or extermination for their object, would, according to their power, resist and repel the unjust and oppressive violence offered by their equals. There is more than simple appearance for supposing, that French Republicans have learned the first rudiments of their levelling system from these very people, herein alluded to; for altho' among these very people there are very many who possess extensive properties, both real and personal; yet among them there is not one Esquire, simple Knight, Knight of the Bath, Thistle, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, or of the Garter: Not a Baronet, a Baron, a Viscount, an Earl, a Marquis, a Duke or Prince

None of them have the distinctive appellations of Honorable, Right Honorable, Noble, or Most Noble; your Excellency, your Grace, or your Highness, or Serene Highness. Yet, they have among them relative titles more pleasing and entertaining, as well as more appropriate to, and becoming the dignity of human Nature, viz. that of Friends, Brethren, and Sisters, in the unity of faith, manners, and brotherly love!!!

Among their Teachers, you will find neither Reverends nor Right Reverends; neither Curates, Priests, Vicars, Rectors, Deans, Arch-Deans, Priors, Abbots, Bishops, Arch-Bishops, Metropolitans, Cardinals, or Vicar Generals— Under this defect, this total deprivation of every civil and ecclesiastic distinction, which *vanity* has contrived; they are, nevertheless, one of the best instructed and regulated Societies on earth: can any thing more clearly evince the vanity, inutility, and absurdity of such distinctions, than the sublime and dignified Order of that Fraternity  
and

and Society, where the equality and true dignity of human Nature is supported, on primeval and rational principles.

How galling must such observations be to the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal; to all Aristocrats, to see and hear of a well governed Society, under their very noses; among whom there is not one adventitious or political distinction; yet there is every subordination, which reason and justice can require.

### A QUAKER.

1694.

**T**HE false rapacious Wolf of France,  
The scourge of Europe, and its curse  
Who at his subjects cry would dance,  
And study how to make them worse—  
To say such Kings, Lord, rule by thee.  
Were most prodigious blasphemy.

Such know no laws but their own lust;  
Their Subjects substance, and their blood,  
They count it tribute due and just,  
Still spent and spilt for Subjects good.  
If such Kings are by God appointed,  
The Devil may be the Lords anointed  
Such Kings curst be their power and name,  
Let all the World henceforth abhor 'em,  
Monsters which knaves sacred proclaim,  
And then like Slaves, fall down before 'em,  
What can there be in Kings divine?  
The most are Wolves, Goats, Sheep, or Swine.

Then farewell sacred Majesty.  
Let's pull all Brutish Tyrants down,  
Where Men are Born, and still live Free,  
There Every Head doth wear a Crown.  
Mankind like miserable Frogs,  
Prove wretched, King'd by Storks and Legs.

# POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE.

(NUMBER VI.)

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PRICE TWO PENCE.

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## LOGS, STORKS, and ASSES.

A generous race of croaking frogs,  
Which lay intrench'd between two  
bogs,

Who, as the morning sun did shine,  
Daily increas'd their stock divine;  
Just as the solar influence burn'd,  
Prolific spawn to life was turn'd,  
Until the young one's had at length  
An equal vigour, equal strength.  
So numerous at length they prove,  
They supplicate to mighty Jove;  
A king and governor they crave,  
As other beasts and insects have;  
But Jove allow'd all mortal elves,  
To choose a monarch for themselves,  
The croaking elders now consult  
About a king, and the result  
Was, that a neigh'ring log should be  
Executor of monarchy.

About the log their heads they raise,  
In sounds uncouth they croke his  
praise;

At length some crawl upon his top,  
And frisk about, and croke and hop:  
Says one frog, here's fine business  
done,

Was e'er a king thus tramp'd on?  
Troth, says another antient frog,  
We'll ne'er be govern'd by a log.  
The heat at length so far arole,  
They did the Loggerhead depose.

To new election they proceed,  
And to their hearts content suc-  
ceed:

A neighbouring stork at length they  
chose,

Which should their heats and feuds  
compose;

He took upon him the command  
Of all the people in Frogland;  
But he, as t'other 'fore had done,  
Made it an arbitrary throne;  
Up from the mud the frogs would  
pick,  
And squeeze their corpa within his  
beak.

One frog, much wiser than the rest,  
To those about him thus address'd!  
Good friends this is confounded  
work,

Shall we be govern'd by a stork;  
To have our bones in pieces torn,  
Our young ones ate just as they're  
born?

As if kings only had a pow'r  
To ruin subjects, and devour;  
I think 'tis just to choose again:  
The brood of frogs all crok'd, Amen.

The next they chose was a dull ass,  
Which prov'd as bad as t'other was;  
For though he was not so malicious,  
His folly made him as pernicious;  
Stumbling on empire, oft he stood  
Upon his subjects chok'd in mud:  
Whole beds of spawn he did destroy,  
At ev'ry founce did frogs annoy,  
The devil's in't, said one, for we  
In choosing kings still wretched be.

THUS OFTEN WE HAVE CHOSE A K — — —,  
AND STILL HAVE FOUND IT THE SAME THING.

Written in the Year 1694.

## A D D R E S S

*To the numerous Herd of Tradesmen, Mechanics,  
and Labourers, and Others, comprized under the  
Appellation of the Swinish Multitude.*

I HAVE heard, with great concern, that you have lately shewn some dangerous symptoms of discontent, on account of the ruinous and unfortunate consequences of the war; and as a real friend of the swinish multitude, to which I myself, not being a rich man, of course belong; I beg leave to offer you some wholesome advice, which has been communicated to me by a great man, who has goodness enough to pity the hardships we endure. You will, perhaps, doubt his sincerity, when I inform you, that he strongly recommends patience, and resignation, while others endeavour to excite us to actual resistance against oppression.

To be sure, it is difficult enough to follow his advice, while our families are so distressed, on account of the heavy taxes, the dearness of provisions, and, what is worse, the want of employment, occasioned throughout the kingdom, by the stagnation of trade and manufactures; but, nevertheless, it is best of two evils to choose the least. I am well convinced, from what I have heard, that all we can do at present will only aggravate our misfortunes; *if we rise, and call out for bread*, we shall soon be dispersed by a military force, and hundreds of us might be strung up without our families being relieved. I am told, that the present war is intended as a check upon us, lest we should, like the French, seize the property of our betters, and call them to account how they came by it: This conjecture may be suspected to be the case, as the  
members

members of those Associations, who encouraged the war, seemed to be afraid of what they call Republicans and Levellers. But I have a great consolation to offer you, if what I am told can be depended upon; for it is said the Associators now begin to discover their danger, where they did not at first think of it; that is, in the continuance of the war. Some very able calculators, who know that two and two make four, having proved that the national debt is rapidly increasing and that greater taxes will be required: this you will say, is no comfort to *us*, who must bear the burthen: So I thought; but mark how mistaken we may be; for, upon enquiry, I am informed, as it is a war of Kings against *the people*, and intended to re-establish those privileged orders, which that people detest; and as one of its objects is to keep *things as they are* here, we are to be kept quiet and easy, since the taxes, for the prosecution of the war, is to be levied not on the pensioners and placemen; no, that would be too near the skin; but on the different aristocracies, the commercial, the landed, &c. so that although we shall, in fact, bear the burden; yet, as it is not directly imposed on us, but indirectly, by the increase of price of the various necessaries of life, we shall be crouching under burthens, without knowing how, or by whom, they are placed. I also learn, that the Administration intends to restore us to the blessings of peace, when they perceive they can neither raise, by taxes or loans, money enough to carry on the war — let us wait, therefore, in hopes of a termination of this horrid war, if it be even by the last mentioned means, and this, in the opinion of some, cannot be very far distant.

There is also another ground of hope, and that is, that those who are indifferent to our sufferings, must naturally, however, be afraid of driving us to despair; for they well know, that the poor swine are so numerous, that if they are once fully determined, their drivers will scarcely have a squeak for their lives: and who knows what might soon happen, if they were to goad and flog us much more, without allowing us even the swill we have been contented to feed upon? As for our gracious king, and his ministers, for whom let us pray, *as in duty bound*; I, for one, am convinced, that they mean all for the best: It was fully expected, the combined armies would have gone to Paris before now and given the French a constitution that would have made them as happy as *we* are; but as they are foolish and obstinate, and will not repair for redress to the drum head, and listen to the kind intentions of the Duke of Brunswick, and others, who would do them a world of good; why, let them, I say, dispute among themselves till they can agree. It will be time enough for us to trouble ourselves when they will not let us alone; but as they have lately promised to pay us a visit, if they do come, why, we must make the best of it; for, as my grandmother used to say, *John always make the best of a bad market.*

I forgot, however, that I have no right to form an opinion upon such subjects, because I am, like yourselves, *One of the Swinish Multitude.*

P. S. Do not forget this short admonition; let me intreat of you to be quiet, and submit to your deceivers, as the old saying is, "Let them have rope enough, and it may save us a deal of trouble."

The

*Estimate of the Value of National Opulence to the  
Masses of the People.—From the Peripatetic.*

**Y**ES, it is true, at the sight of these great objects the imagination is apt to become inflated: the big heart of patriot pride swells in our bosoms; and the deluded mind is filled with nothing but splendid images of Grandeur, Opulence, and Power! Fine words, it is true, for which, through the long space of many, many centuries, the peace and happiness of the world has been disturbed; nation has vied with nation in destroying fury; and thousands, millions of miserable wretches (who could reap nothing from the struggle but the wounds with which it was maintained) have shed their life's blood in the field of slaughter. And yet, when properly considered, what is their import? What are they but gilded baits, thrown by the artful anglers of Oppression, to catch the gudgeon Popularity, and ensnare the thoughtless vulgar to their misery and ruin?

Oh! that I once could hear substituted, for these high sounding terms (by which the passions and prejudices of mankind have so long been played upon,) the neglected terms, Humanity! Equal Justice! and General Happiness!

Statesmen may sneer, and politicians may conclude me mad: but, for my own part, I cannot help thinking that, as *The Nation* is but a term by which *all* the inhabitants of a country are collectively personified, it is treason to the majesty of the People—blasphemy against the sacred names of Humanity and Common Sense—to talk of any thing as a *national advantage* by which the *people at large* are not absolutely bene-

fitted. And I shall not scruple to allow, that if, at any distant period, placemen and pensioners should become so profligate, that some thrice bought and sold male prostitute, wallowing in the wealth acquired by the drudgery of half a century to each successive administration, should dare, in open contempt to the imprescriptible rights of the oppressed and lower orders of the community, to affirm, in any pretended house of representatives, that no reformation ought to take place, while the higher and middle ranks of people (about a tenth part, at most, of members of any state) enjoy the one so much wealth and honour, and the other so many comforts; that such a wretch, instead of being permitted to *poison the ear of royalty* with such damned heresies, would more deserve the punishment of an ignominious exit, than any poor miserable wretch who ever expiated at Newgate, the crime to which the want of bread might have compelled him.

What then? If the *many* were not *created* for the *few*, and the *few* to tyrannize over the *many* — if the majority of the nation are not to be considered as forming no part of that nation — if the *most useful* members of *society* are not to be regarded as worthy of any *social* consideration — what can be the meaning of these haughty teams? — Wealth! Grandeur! Power!

The *wealth* of nation the majority of whose members cannot, with their utmost labour, procure the common comforts of life, and set a joint of meat once a week before their hungry families! — The *grandeur* of a state, three fourths of whose inhabitants are huddled together in wretched smoky cabbins, or shivering through the winter in rags and wretchedness! — The *dignity* of a people

ple, who, to support the splendour of a few oppressors, graze like beasts of the field, upon turnips ; and bow to the party coloured livery of servitude, as a happy escape from the drudgery by which they cannot live!!!

As for the *power* of a state, I believe it is no hard matter to explain the meaning of this expression. Its evident interpretation being the ability of certain state pageants, in whose hands all power is concentrated, to oppress and plunder the people at large, whom it is their duty to protect and *serve*.

In short, as the dignity and prosperity of a nation do not, according to modern calculation, consist in the improved condition of the people, but in the childish and expensive splendour of courts, in the pride and insolence of an overgrown nobility, pensioned on the public purse, and doubling the necessary taxation ; and, above all, in the accumulation of wealth in a few hands, by which the prices of all commodities, and consequently the actual poverty and wretchedness of the many are increased. As this is palpably the mode of calculation, it is no affected antithesis to declare, that the flourishing grandeur of a country is but another term for the depression and misery of the people ; and that to speak of the expensive luxury and refinements of the age, is but, with cruel irony, to remind us how many myriads are destitute of the common requisites of decency and comfort, and pining in the absolute want of wholesome sustenance.

How then, can the real friends of his species survey the wide-stretching capital, the fatal monument of growing monopoly, or behold, without a sigh, those fleets which might have blessed the country with an increasing distribution of  
 plenty

plenty and felicity, but the channels of whose wealth being stopped, before they could divide themselves into little streamlets, and communicate a proportion of their blessings to the lower orders of the state, have only increased the real wretchedness of mankind!

[*The abominable barbarities which have marked the steps of the Austrians and their associates the Emigrants, having been asserted to be without equal, I must request your insertion of the Commissioner's Account of these enormities; and that you would subjoin Smollet's account of the inhuman and deliberate massacres, perpetrated by order of His Royal Highness the late Duke of Cumberland, uncle to his present most gracious Majesty, where perhaps your Readers may discover, that even Austrian cruelty cannot only be equalled, but even exceeded by Englishmen.*]

TITUS ANDRONICUS.

*Proclamation to the French Citizens on the Rhine.*

*August 23, 1793, second year of the French Republic.*

*" To arms! Republicans! To arms!*

**T**HE representatives of the people, with the armies of the Rhine, and the General in Chief, denounce to all nations of the earth the abominable outrages of the barbarous Austrians and the cowardly Emigrants.

*" At the village of Bohrbach, these monsters thrust out the eyes of a schoolmaster, an apostle of liberty and equality; and cut off the hands of a virtuous young man, who had planted the tree of liberty, and who is since dead of his wounds.*

*" At the village of Steinwaller, these anthropophagi cut open the breasts of a mother, who was suckling her child.*

*" At*

“ At the village of Barbelrodt these outrageous cannibals murdered, in the arms of her assassinated husband, a young woman, six months gone with child.

“ At the village of Caudel, these ruffians massacred an invalid and two labourers.

“ In all the villages, to which they have been able to penetrate, they have marked their cause by murder and pillage.”

*From Smollet's History of England.*

**I**MMEDIATELY after the decisive action at Culloden, the Duke took possession of Inverness, where thirty-six deserters, convicted by a court-martial, were ordered to be executed: then he detached several parties to ravage the country. One of these apprehended the Lady Mackintosh, who was sent prisoner to Inverness — They did not plunder her house, but drove away her cattle, though her husband was actually in the service of government. The castle of Lord Lovat was destroyed. The French prisoners were sent to Carlisle and Penrith: Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Cromartie, and his son the Lord Macleod, were conveyed by sea to London; and those of an inferior rank were confined in different prisons. The Marquiss of Tullibadine, together with a brother of the Earl of Dunsmore, were seized and transported to the Tower of London, to which the Earl of Traquair had been committed on suspicion. In a few months after the battle of Culloden, Murray, the Pretender's Secretary, the late Earl of Mar's brother was apprehended: and the oldest son of Lord Lovat having surrendered himself, was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. In a word, all the jails of Great Britain,

Britain, from the capital, northwards, were filled with those unfortunate captives; and great numbers of them were crowded together in the holds of ships, where they perished in the most deplorable manner, for want of necessaries, air, and exercise.

Some rebel chiefs escaped in two French frigates which had arrived on the coast of Lochaber about the end of April, and engaged three vessels belonging to his Britannic Majesty, which they obliged to retire. Others embarked on board of a ship on the coast of Buchan; and were conveyed to Norway, from thence they travelled to Sweden. In the month of May the Duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the Highlands, as far as Fort Augustus, where he encamped; and sent of detachments on all hands, to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waste the country with fire and sword. The castles of Glengary and Lochiel were plundered and burned: every house, hut, or habitation met with the same fate, without distinction; all the cattle and provisions were carried off: the men were either *shot* upon the mountains, *like wild beasts*, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial; the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked with their children to starve on the barren heaths. One whole family was inclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. Those ministers of vengeance were so alert in the execution of their office, that in a few days there was neither house nor cottage, man nor beast, to be seen in the compass of fifty miles—  
**All was RUIN, SILENCE and DESOLATION!**

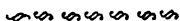
*The following JEU d'ESPRIT, in Ridicule of the Quixottic Attempt, to oblige the French Republic to adopt a Government which they totally disapprove, is marked by so much genuine humour, that the Editor makes no Apology for introducing it here, from the Morning Chronicle.*

*Pretty AMUSEMENTS for Crowned Heads,  
FOR A CENTURY TO COME.*

**W**HEN the Combined Forces have reinstated monarchy in France, seen the Monk restored to his monastery, and the Nun to her cloister; brought back the feudal system to the most absolute vassalage, and introduced wooden shoes and wretchedness to more than twenty millions of people — they may direct their attention to the Dey of Algiers, and insist upon introducing the Protestant religion into every corner of his black dominions. That point once accomplished, they may sail to Constantinople, and compel the Grand Turk to throw away his turban, and wear in the room a cocked hat and pig-tailed perriwig; this will be very easily performed; and then they will have nothing to do, but to pay a visit to the Emperor of China, and advise him kindly, at the point of the bayonet, to embrace Judaism for the good of his immortal soul, and to oblige his subjects to rise with their b—k s—des foremost. After that, they may step over the Chinese wall, force the Khan of Persia to keep Lent; and then turning their attention to the Great Mogul, insist upon qualifying all his subjects for the Italian Opera, and that they ride with their heads to their horses' tails. They will then have plenty of leisure upon their hands to pare the lips and pinch the noses of the the Tartars into a decent and becoming form. As to the Hottentots, it will take no trouble at all to make them wear ruffled shirts

shirts and silk stockings; and nothing can be more pleasant to the blacks of Guinea than compelling them to dress in fur cloaks, with black silk bags to their hair. Afterwards they can force the Esquimaux Indians to study the Newtonian system, and oblige the Laplanders to have light all the year round.

BLACK-AND-ALL-BLACK.



*The LAND of APES. — A FABLE.*

AN Englishman and a Frenchman, who were lately travelling together, in foreign countries, happened at length to arrive in a land inhabited only by Apes. The king of the Apes, hearing of their arrival, sent and invited them to court; where, to shew the great state and pomp in which he lived, he made a great ball. When that entertainment was over, he invited them to the chace, with the greatest lords of the land and chiefest of the courtiers. — The horses, the hounds, the hawks, and all the other equipage for hunting, were in the finest order imaginable: In short, when they had killed game enough, and the sport was over, they fell to eating, drinking, swearing, gaming, whoring, talking loudly, and all other excesses, insomuch that the foreigner, who had often seen the like in his own country, presently concluded that they were in the land of Apes, and not in a country inhabited by rational creatures. The King of the Apes, who in these vile debaucheries surpassed, or at least was flattered to do so, all his subjects, took these strangers aside, and asked them — the Englishman first — How he liked his court, and way of living? The crafty Englishman, used to the low cringing arts of his own court, perceiving the vanity of the Ape, resolved

solved to suit his answer accordingly, and therefore told him, that he was astonished at the vast prudence, courage, and elegance, which he had observed in all his subjects, but that these, and every other excellence, were more conspicuous in his royal person, and that he made choice of the wisest council on the earth; that their way of dressing and eating surpassed all that he had seen elsewhere; that the horses, hawks, and hounds of his country were not to be matched; but, above all, that the ladies were passing fair, and that he fancied himself in a terrestrial paradise, and that his whole ambition was to be admitted into the number of his majesty's most humble slaves. The Englishman's answer so pleased the king, that he immediately appointed him to be one of his privy council, and settled a considerable pension on him during life. It came next to the Frenchman's turn to answer the same question; but he, in whose country those ways of living had been just exploded, and where they are now held in execration, disdaining to flatter, nor considering that if a man's misfortune has cast him into a land of Apes, he ought in prudence to comply with the customs of it, conceived he should gain more honour by telling the plain truth of the matter, than the Englishman had done by his courtly infamous flattery — he therefore roundly told the Ape, that he had not seen the least pattern of good government in his whole court, and that all his country had presented him with nothing but a scene of lewdness, corruption, and debauchery; — that he plainly saw that Apes were nothing but apes, and all their actions apish, and that there was no comparison between their ways of living and those of rational creatures. The answer of the  
bold

bold and free Frenchman so highly incensed the high and mighty *Ape* and his council, that they treated him as an enemy to their court, and put him to death. Upon this, the servile Englishman, still more to ingratiate himself in their favour, justified the proceedings of the king's council against his *friend* and fellow traveller, declaring, he had deservedly suffered for his bluntness and temerity.

#### EXPLANATION.

BY the Apes, which of all other beasts the most resembles men, and copies them closest in their actions, we are to understand the common people, who indeed have a human shape, and are endued with a natural capacity that would enable them to judge rightly of other men, if they would only be at the pains of considering them thoroughly, as they ought, but who, nevertheless, to avoid that trouble, are always imitating, that is, aping their pretended superiors, both in their actions and opinions, without enquiring into the reasons of either.

By the King of the Apes are meant, Kings and Princes, who are esteemed to be God's viceregents, by that sort of people, who not having courage enough to use their own reason, blindly believe that all their actions, as well as their persons, are impressed with the stamp of the Divinity.

By Englishmen, we understand all men that are born and live under monarchical governments, and who are so tame, stupid, and supple in their tempers, that they readily submit to the will of their princes, though never so unreasonable and destructive, thereby to ingratiate themselves in their favour.

By the Frenchmen, we mean men who have lived under a free government, and who will not easily be seduced from their habits of talking and living, though it should be their misfortune to be removed into the dominions of kings and sovereigns, where, having never had any occasion to trouble their heads about liberty and property at home, they generally fall into great adversity.

This Fable, therefore, teaches us that men, who partly through a good disposition of body and soundness of mind; partly through their own reasoning and experience, have arrived so far as to prescribe to themselves certain good rules of living and of judgment, become thereby so easy in their temper, and withal so open hearted, that they freely impart to others the reasons of the way of life which they have embraced; and without any discomposure of temper, calmly hear from others, of a contrary opinion, the reasons of the  
method.

methods of theirs, and will neither make use of their authority and power, to oblige others to follow their opinions, nor will be compelled themselves to follow the opinions of others.

These are the noble souls, who, living in free republics, according to the dictates of reason and justice, are truly happy and valuable; but who always find it difficult to submit themselves to a regal or despotic government; and make but very uneasy members, under a head, where the arbitrary motto of Kings, "*Car tel est notre plaisir*," constitutes the supreme law; where the prince almost always follows the bent of his passions, and the counsel of flatterers, but seldom or never the dictates of sound reason and equity; and where, nevertheless, such is the absurdity and force of prejudice, that he is generally esteemed, by his subjects, as the wisest and most virtuous of rulers.

But amongst the subjects of a monarchical government, we may observe this distinction; that some of them are dull and lumpish souls, who being slaves by system, quietly submit to be governed by one single head, without reflecting on the advantages and disadvantages of it; while others, perhaps of better sense and apprehension, observing the natural propensities of kings and princes, who love to be flattered and soothed in their vanity, betake themselves to those base methods, merely to ingratiate themselves in the prince's favour, that they may thence become men of power, and lord it over their fellow subjects. This sort of men have obtained such footing in the courts of most of the kings and princes of Europe, that a third sort, though fully convinced that the happiness of a country consists in the freedom of its inhabitants; yet, bewitched by the greatness and splendour of the former, become as mean sycophants as them, and help to betray the liberty of their fellow-subjects, together with their own. Such are the subjects of a monarchical sway; but in countries, where the people are accustomed to live according to the rules of sound reason, and to be governed by the wholesome laws of the republic, where they have always seen so high a value set on liberty, that to preserve that inestimable jewel, they have been still ready to put life and fortune in the balance, to oppose all such as go about to lessen or despoil them of it; yet, even in those countries, it has sometimes happened that men have neglected to make such laws as would certainly have secured to them that inestimable treasure, and then some one of the greatest inhabitants, under the specious name of Protector of the people's liberty, has got so strong a faction, and so many adherents, that he has been able to exert a kingly authority over his fellows; and then it has happened, that the true patriots of their country, seeing how basely they have been chafed of their freedom, and unable to refrain from that liberty of speech and life, in which they were brought up, have thereby brought down on themselves the hatred  
and

and vengeance of the Court, and so fallen into many misfortunes. Thus having sufficiently explained this Fable, we have only this to advise, that all men, who have any regard for their liberty, ought to be very careful how they take a voyage into the land of Apes, and above all, how they set up a kingdom of Apes in their own country.

#### MODERN FABLES.

The reader, in the above Fable, will at once discover the wonderful effects of liberty: since, in so short a period, the French have assumed such a nervous and sublime character, under the forms of a Republican, while another nation has so amazingly degenerated under the substance of a Regal government.

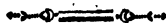


To the EDITOR, &c.

S I R,

SINCE every one is as much convinced, as it is possible to be convinced, of the motives for action in any man, that the active conduct of the present Lord Mayor, *Sir James Sanderson*, has been the consequence of his ardour in the cause of Freedom, and that his Lordship has been totally uninfluenced by any mean and dirty considerations of a self-interested nature, I am eager, as the Lord-mayor elect is, in every respect, likely to tread step by step in the paths of his illustrious predecessor, to have every circumstance well considered, which suspecting men might think would make against the purity of his intentions — Do therefore inform me, Sir, whether *Haviland Le Mesurier*, Gent. who is just appointed to the lucrative situation of Assistant Commissary-general of Stores, Provisions, and Forage, to the Forces serving on the Continent, under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, be a *near* relation of the Alderman's?

CLD QUISBY.



#### 'BURKE'. IDEA DEFENDED.

WHEN subjects in the laws can claim no share,  
'Twixt them and CATTLE nor distinctions re?

# POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE.

( NUMBER VII. )

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PRICE TWO PENCE.

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## *From* "THE VILLAGE ASSOCIATION."

"BE ye, therefore, unceasingly employed in endeavouring to procure a fair and equal representation, in parliaments of a proper duration. When that is obtained, your other grievances may soon be expected to cease. A due equilibrium may be preserved between the respective parts of the constitution — Our gracious sovereign will be happy in lessening the burthens of his loving subjects — Limitation may take place in *making* of Lords — Wars may be less frequently thought necessary — The swarms of pensioners and sinecure placemen may be diminished — Taxes may be lightened — The national debt may be *actually* reduced — The land-tax equalized — The Poor laws amended — The Game laws abolished — The Excise laws rendered less odious — The Statute laws corrected — The partial and oppressive laws against workmen meliorated — The proceedings at Common law rendered more compatible with common sense and equity — The severity of the Criminal laws lessened — The infant poor may be educated by some grand national establishment — Youth may be protected, instead of being dragged into hard and degrading servitude — The aged poor may be maintained — The Clergy more equally and agreeably provided for — And Test acts annihilated. — These are some of the many blessings, which most probably would succeed to that Reform of Parliament, which it is your duty to demand, and your right to obtain."

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L O N D O N :

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## EDUCATION OF A PRINCE.

*From Godwin's Enquiry concerning Political Justice.*

**W**HAT is the education of a Prince? Its first quality is extreme tenderness. The winds of heaven are not permitted to blow upon him. He is dressed and undressed by his lacquies and valets. His wants are carefully anticipated; his desires, without any effort of his, profusely supplied. *His health is of too much importance to the community to permit him to exert any considerable effort either of body or mind!* He must not hear the voice of reprimand or blame. In all things it is first of all to be remembered, that he is a Prince; that is, *some rare and precious creature, but not of human kind!*

As he is heir to a throne, it is never forgotten by those about him, that considerable importance is to be annexed to his favour or his displeasure. Accordingly they never express themselves, in his presence, frankly and naturally, either respecting him or themselves. They are supporting a party; they play under a mask. Their own fortune and emolument is always uppermost in their minds, at the same time that they are anxious to appear generous, disinterested, and sincere. All his caprices are to be complied with; all his gratifications are to be studied. They find him a depraved and sordid mortal; they judge of his appetites and capacities by their own; and the gratifications they recommend serve to sink him deeper in folly and vice.

What is the result of such an education? — Having never experienced contradiction, the young Prince is arrogant and presumptuous: Having always been accustomed to the slaves of necessity, or the slaves of choice, he does not even understand the meaning of the word freedom.

dom. His temper is insolent, and impatient of parley and expostulation. Knowing *nothing*, *he believes himself sovereignly informed*, and runs headlong into danger, not from fierceness and courage, but from the most egregious wilfulness and vanity. Like Pyrrho, among the antient philosophers, if his attendants were at a distance, and he trusted himself alone in the open air, he would perhaps be run over by the next coach, or fall down the next precipice. His violence and presumption are strikingly contrasted with the extreme temerity of his disposition. The first opposition terrifies him; the first difficulty seen and understood appears insuperable. He trembles at a shadow, and at the very semblance of adversity is dissolved into tears. It has, accordingly been observed, that Princes are commonly superstitious beyond the rate of common mortals.

Above all, simple, unqualified truth is a stranger to his ear. It either never approaches; or if so unexpected a guest should once appear, it meets with so cold a reception, as to afford little encouragement to a second visit. The longer he has been accustomed to falsehood and flattery, the more grating will it sound. The longer he has been accustomed to falsehood and flattery, the more terrible will the task appear to him, to change his tastes and discard his favourites. — He will either place a blind confidence in all men, or, having detected the insincerity of those who were most agreeable to him, will conclude, that all men are knavish and designing. As a consequence of this last opinion, he will become indifferent to mankind, callous to their sufferings, and will believe that even the virtuous are knaves, under a craftier mask.

*Such is the education of an individual, who is destined to superintend the affairs, and watch for the happiness of millions!!!*

No situation can be so unnatural as that of a Prince, so difficult to be understood by him who occupies it, so irresistably propelling the mind to mistake. The first ideas it suggests are of a tranquilising and soporific nature. It fills him with the opinion of his secretly possessing some inherent advantage over the rest of his species; by which he is forced to command, and they to obey. If you assure him of the contrary, you can expect only an imperfect and temporary credit; for facts, which in this case depose against you, speak a language more emphatic and intelligible than words. If it were not, as he supposes, why should every one that approaches be eager to serve him? A Prince finds himself courted and adored long before he can have acquired a *merit* entitling him to such distinctions. By what arguments can you persuade him laboriously to pursue what appears so completely superfluous? How will you persuade him, who finds all his wishes anticipated, to engage in any *arduous undertaking*? or propose any distant object for his ambition?

But even should you succeed in this, his pursuits may be expected to be either *miscellaneous* or *useless*. His understanding is distorted; and the basis of morality, the recollection, that *other men are beings of the same order with himself*, is extirpated. *It would be unreasonable to expect from him any thing generous and humane*. Unfortunate as he is, his situation is continually propelling him to vice, and destroying the germs of integrity and virtue before they are unfolded. If sensibility begin to discover itself, it is immediately

ately poisoned by the blighting winds of flattery. Amusement and sensuality call, with an imperious voice, and will not allow him time to feel. Artificial as the character he fills, even should he aspire to fame, it will be by the artificial methods of false refinement, or *the barbarous invention of usurpation and conquest*, not by the plain and unornamented road of benevolence.



*To the Publisher of Politics for the People, &c.*

SIR,

**I**T is sufficiently difficult for a man to avoid the reproaches of his own conscience, when he, in appearance, conforms to the system of politics enforced by existing authority; but still greater is the difficulty to resolve the home-put questions of those who have too much sense and spirit to accept of high sounding words and abuse in the place of sound argument. Do, Sir, enable me, by your advice, to answer, with success, the following interrogatories —

What shall I say, when asked as to my opinion of the present war? Or, if our arms prove victorious, how far may I say, the *civil rights* of Englishmen will be secured; or how much the country will be benefitted by pretended indemnification, arising from the present acquisition of foreign territory? Furnish me with some just premises, whereby I may conclude, and *insist upon it*, that the fortune of war must secure to us ample recompence for all the blood and treasure which the country is drained of during the war's continuance.

What answer may I give to any impertinent enquiries relative to my sentiments of the boasted constitution of England? And, as I am not  
strong

strong enough to dispute by blows, I should be glad to be possessed of arguments to employ, should I, at any time, hear it alledged, that the constitution has given way to the influence of the crown, and that the crown has so formidably increased its patronage as to allow the other branches of government but *to live in name*; and do inform me, Sir, if such partial distribution of power be inconsistent with the principles of our constitution, how shall I get rid of the imputation of folly, and even guilt, when extolling the immaculacy of that constitution?

As reform is obnoxious to all the great men in power, who are basking in the enjoyment of snug births, pray help me to some solid ground, on which I may take my stand, and oppose, with them, that which is so strongly backed by reason and common sense?

When damning the French, am I to confine myself to the Convention, or, with one hearty curse, blast the whole nation?

In praying for the success of our arms, by sea and land, need I trouble myself to consider whether our's or the enemy's cause is best founded in justice and the rights of man: and will this success be better obtained by the nation's blood and cash from the public treasury, than by the valour of the king himself, and the treasures of his private purse?

Is my affection for the armies, now combined with us, in establishing a monarchy in France, to be carried beyond the present connection, subsisting with us, for the purpose of destroying the French?

Do tell me, can I stop the clamour of the disaffected, who are bold enough to speak about excessive bail, partial and oppressive punishments,

ments, better than by telling them, Government is in need of some popular victims, to transport and imprison; and, in case of emergency, to hang up, as examples to others; that while they keep their thoughts from meddling with their own concerns, and the mysterious excellency of our constitution, which they can never fathom, and live content with the *rights* of passive obedience and non-resistance; they may enjoy the blessings of protection; and by herding with the sworn friends of our executive authorities, they need not be in fear of gibbets and death, nor even in danger of a voyage to Botany-bay, against their inclination.

I have some other questions to ask, for information sake, before I venture to say too much in company: in which case I should look as foolish as a friend of mine, a staunch friend to Government, who greatly weakened our cause against the Jacobins; for, being at a loss for an answer to one of their seditious arguments, declared, he never heard a church and king man defend his cause worth a farthing, although of necessity *on the right side*. This, Mr. Publisher, I would endeavour to avoid, by furnishing myself with substantial reasons, to do away all that can be said against church and king, especially the former, which some rogues say, pampers one physician of souls, and makes him *above his business*; and starves others so much, as to render them *unable* to perform it at all. Do add to your communication whatever you think necessary to complete me in the rudiments of *modern liberty*.

AN EXCISEMAN.

I M-

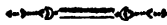
IMPROMPTU.

*On Reading the Decision of the Special Jury, on the late Trial of  
Mr. Eaton, for selling "An Address to the Addressers."*

IN Initials of Gold,  
Let *these Names* be enroll'd,  
And plac'd in the *Temple of Freedom*;  
And may *Millions* be found,  
Thus *honest and sound*,  
*For, Faith, these are Times, when we need 'em.*  
PRESCOT, NIXON, and ALBURN,  
JAMES, LEWIS, and OSBORNE,  
ARTHUR, COMBE, SMITH, HORN, WILD & WOOD.

*Such Men we'll revere,  
Whilst Liberty's dear,  
And our Children learn Conduct so good.*

A REPUBLICAN.



THE YOUNG LARKS.

*" Hoc erit tibi argumentum semper in promptu situm,*

*" Nequid expectes amicos, quod tute agere posses."*

ENNIUS APUD GELLIIUM, ii. 29.

ONCE on a time, so says the parable,  
In a fine waving field of arable,  
A Lark amidst the corn had rear'd her brood;  
It would have done you good  
To see how she with grain had cramm'd their maws;  
And how, with winking eye,  
And necks awry,  
Panting, they lay behind their bursting craws;  
And scarce could chirp or say  
Mamma, good day!  
No larks of Dunstable were ever fatter,  
What then could be the matter?  
—'Twas this; the corn she knew was ripe and brown,  
The neighbouring fields already down;  
And much the prudent mother was afraid  
They should be forc'd to quit their calm retreat,  
And emigrate to some less happy seat.  
My dears, says she, we are betray'd;  
Listen, and be upon the watch;

Mind

Mind what the farmers say  
From day to day,  
And bring it me. A little eaves-dropping  
Is, now and then, a very useful thing.

The little-birds, rous'd from their stupid sleeping;  
And being very perfect for their age,  
In the blest system of espionage;  
Leaning half o'er the nest  
Their speckled toad-like breast,  
By day and night, were now alert and peeping.  
Next morning sure enough, the farmer came,  
Himself and son. Quoth he, We're much to blame;  
This corn our husbandry disgraces,  
So bearded, ripe, and bristling in our faces;  
Next morn to cut it we'll begin  
And therefore call our neighbours in:  
'Tis a rare crop, he said, and walk'd away,  
The little Larks, in wild dismay,  
Before they went to bed,  
In terror told what he had said.  
This time you need not fear Mamma replies,  
Trust what I say, by long experience wise.

And so it proved. The neighbours huffed and chaffed,  
A civil answer scarce vouchsafed:  
They leave their dinners and their ale,  
Sweating beneath the sun of July,  
To help two clumsy boors! A likely tale!  
Hodge had forgot his distance, truly,  
Hodge scratched his head. — Well, let it be;  
We now our real friends shall see;  
For many a friend the farmer had,  
Who all to serve him would be glad;  
And eating kin, and Christmas cousins,  
The farmer reckon'd them by dozens;  
Go tell our friends it must be done,  
(This job) before next Friday's sun:  
The friends and kinsmen promis'd meeting,  
And sent him many a cordial greeting.

The little Larks were now quite sure  
They in a hurry must decamp;  
Peace! said the Parent, be secure,  
That yet you need not tramp:  
This bustle only serves to make me laugh,  
Old birds, like me, are never caught with chaff.

Next

Next morn, a number of excuses came.  
 Friend Ralph was seiz'd a little lame;  
 Friend Simon gone to sell his mare;  
 Hob to buy cheefe at Sturbich fair:  
 Some were detain'd within their houses,  
 For fear of fever, by their spouses;  
 And cousin John declar'd 'twas plain,  
 The glafs foretold a deal of rain;  
 'Twas not, he thought, with sky so fickle,  
 A *proper time* to use the fickle,  
 My son, said Hodge' now undeceiv'd,  
 A useful lesson we've receiv'd;  
 Do thou, before to-morrow's dawn,  
 For thee and me two sickles bring;  
 We'll help ourselves, whate'er betide;  
 Now, now, 'tis time, the old one cried,  
 That we were on the wing,  
 This was the only stroke I feared,  
 She said; and all before the day appeared,  
 Most wisely were withdrawn.

MY Tale, I know is somewhat old,  
 We'll try the moral to unfold.  
 You, who have feather'd well your nest,  
 Scrips, Placemen, Pensioners, and Co.  
 Living in ease and clover blest:  
 I grieve to see you fretting so,  
 Pining distractedly about and frightened;  
 At every false alarm by fancy heightened;  
 'Tis without question,  
 Exceeding bad for your digestion:  
 Wherefore, I beg of you, hear a little reason,  
 And keep your terrors for the proper season.  
 When in petitions, form'd to soothe and flatter,  
 Beginning with most gracious!  
 Its loving subjects hope that Government  
 Will, in its wisdom, give them full content,  
 Redressing all that is vexatious;  
 "Let not your noble courage be cast down;"  
 Sons of the silk or the prunella gown!  
 Its wisdom scarce will stir about the matter.  
 I hope you do not think 'twas meant,  
 (A thing so sacred and so high)  
 To drudge and labour for the good,  
 Of the poor swinish multitude,  
 Just like an eagle stooping to a fly.

Their

Their coarse petitions they'll be scarcely able,  
To bear upon the table ;  
No, no, depend upon't, your doom  
Will never from *this* quarter come.

Nor yet, when opposition-patriots warm,  
Raising of eloquency a storm,  
In speech and writings bold,  
Tell us we are bought and sold,  
And thunder out *Reform* ;  
Need you, with fretting, or with fear, grow thinner  
You, will not lose one corporation dinner ;  
Their tropes are good, 'tis divine to hear them,  
I only say — you need not fear them.

But should the people once begin,  
*Themselves* to put the sickle in ;  
(The sickle, mind, I say no more,  
For fear of misrepresentation ;)  
O ! should John Bull himself prepare,  
Of his own crop to take the care,  
He, and his sturdy sons together,  
Coarse grain'd, who fear nor wind nor weather,  
Your golden days indeed are o'er ;  
To borough jobbing then adieu ;  
Loans, contracts too,  
Snug sinecures, and pensions, all, good bye !  
" No song no supper," then will be the cry :  
And soon you'll be no more, I guess,  
Than *ci-devants*, or French Noblesse.



### FELLOW CITIZENS,

**I**F an accused person should publish, previous to his trial, such explanation as he may think necessary, for understanding the merits of his cause, the law ordains for him a severe punishment ; under the idea of the danger of thus influencing the determination of the jury. Now this may be very proper ; but being so, with what colour of propriety or justice can publications, tending to exasperate the minds of the public in general, and ofjuries of course, against any one who

who may have unfortunately come under the inordinate power of the Attorney General, be permitted? Yet such is the practice — the daily papers, which are engaged in the service of ministers, are always to be found loaded with insolent misrepresentations of the objects of ministerial persecution: The most ridiculous stories and malignant lies are so plentifully spread abroad, that when the hour of trial arrives, it is more than probable, that a jury may be collected of men rendered inveterate against the accused, merely by having credited the falsehoods thus industriously circulated. PYM.



THE *head servants of the people*, in almost every country upon earth, have, during this long period, repeated, with indefatigable perseverance, the *bloody* experiment of *dragooning* their fellow citizens into silence and uniformity; but with little effect. COOPER.



*Aristocratic Insolence and Democratic Bluntness.*

A CERTAIN PEER celebrated for the suavity of his manners, purity of morals, and meekness of spirit, had been accustomed in his afternoon walk, to hold frequent conversation with a neighbouring farmer, respecting his breed of cattle, the nature of his crops, mode of farming, &c. until at last, emboldened by this familiarity, the farmer ventured to ask his Lordship's opinion respecting the War, and its duration. — G\*\*d\*\*\*y\*\*\*b\*\*\*d, says the noble Peer, how dare you speak to me about Politics. — G\*\*d\*\*\*y\*\*\*b\*\*\*d, replied the honest Rustic, how dare you talk to me about Farming?

*From*

*From FABLES, Moral and Political.*

THE affairs of the Public touch us not so nearly as our own. The misfortunes of the state are borne upon many shoulders; and the advantages thereof divided amongst many hands, and therefore each of them seem but of little moment to each of the particular inhabitants. — Old kings, as well as their subjects, die continually, and new ones are daily born, who come into the world ignorant of all things, and have not yet either occasioned or suffered the misfortunes that their parents before them have. — Hence is apparent the great imprudence of men, who, when God has been pleased to rid them of one tyrant or ill king, having it in their own power to free themselves once, for all, from the like misfortune, and to establish a better form of government instead thereof, change the person of the tyrant only, not the tyranny whereby the subjects were oppressed, and continue to be so. We might confirm and illustrate what we have said, by citing an infinity of examples from history, ancient as well as modern, proving that many, even of the very best of kings, that they may live with their courtiers, in splendour and luxury, notwithstanding their oaths and promises to the contrary, often take to themselves the estates of their subjects, under colour of forfeiture and confiscation: that they fleece their subjects bare by heavy taxes and impositions, under fair and specious shew of being excellent state physicians; that, according to the rules of art they must breathe in time the veins of their people, torturing them in cruel and destructive wars, thereby exhausting their purse, and enslaving their minds. From such numerous and  
irresistable

irresistable proofs, all men, even those of the meanest capacity, ought to be fully convinced, that whenever it pleases God to deliver a people from a tyrant, and to enable them to set up a freer form of government, it is a scandalous neglect in them not to avail themselves of the opportunity.

FROM THE SAME

**T**HE counsels of the best and ablest men are generally most neglected and contemned in ill constituted and corrupt government. There the wisest and most virtuous are generally so hated by the nobles, and their ignorant, prejudiced, or interested followers, that not only their wholesome advices are not followed, but they themselves, when things go ill, are through the malice and wicked designs of their rulers, brought to be looked upon as enemies to the common welfare. In this case, the only refuge these good citizens have left, is, to fly for protection to some foreign or better government, and wait there in patience till time and woeful experience convince the inhabitants of the country, from whence they are driven, how much better it had been to have followed their salutary counsels, than to have compelled them to fly their native land; and thus deprive themselves of the services of their only true friends.



*Prospects for the Poor. — Extract from a Newspaper.  
With Comments.*

“ **A**N inquisition was taken, Feb. 2, 1792, before the coroner, at Heston, near Hounslow, on the body of Edward Bradshaw, a poor old

old man; and the following circumstances, disgraceful to a civilized country, appeared in evidence. In his pocket was found a pass, signed by one of the magistrates for the city of London, to pass him from the parish of St. Lawrence Jury to his own parish, at Bristol. On Thursday, the 12th ult. when put in the *pass cart*, to be conveyed to Bristol, he was so very weak, that it was evident his life could only be saved by warmth, care, and proper nourishment; *yet on that day, one of the coldest ever felt in this country, with scarcely a rag to cover his exhausted body*, he was put into a cart, with four or five *wretches* of the same description. The consequence was, he languished till he came to the end of Hounslow town, and there expired."

SUCH is the treatment all those are liable to experience who may be guilty of the heinous crimes of age and poverty; and this in not only a civilized, but a Christian country. Such are the rewards and consolations destined for the industrious and useful members of this *flourishing* community. Such are the provisions made for those who have worn out their youth and strength in labouring for the maintenance of courts and nobility, in administering to the luxuries of the great, the security of the wealthy and indolent, and the sustenance of all! Such are the provisions made for the worn out artizan and husbandman, by the *equal distribution of the laws*, which, besides the immense emoluments of places and offices, throws into the coffers of his Grace the Duke of Richmond (God knows why!) twenty or thirty thousand a year, by way of additional taxation on coals, which such poor folks, as you and I, my brethren! burn in our miserable garrets;

rest; and which provide also, with equal liberality, for several other honourable members of the illustrious House of Peers.

Such is the difference between bestowing charity upon a great Lord, and upon one of us poor mechanical paupers.

O Britons! Britons! Oh! my poor friendless countrymen!

## ONE OF THE POOR OF ENGLAND.



### ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

*QUIBUS* calls our Attention to the curious circumstance of the play of *GRIEF-A-LAMODE* having been selected for performance, on the evening of that day on which we were first informed that a mourning was to be ordered for the execution of Maria Antionette.

*A PHILANTHROPIST* says, if the execution of Maria Antionette be sufficient occasion for Englishmen to be decked in sable, how deep ought to be our mourning for the hundred thousands of our fellow creatures, who have been already butchered in the present cursed war.

*The Essay*, subscribed *BRUTUS*, we dare not insert, it being so filled with truth, that some people would not only deem it libellous and seditious, but even treasonable.

*We* will not pretend to convince *A ROYALIST*.

*The Frowns* of *CATO*, *SCOURGE*, and *GROWLER*, are received.

# POLITICS FOR THE -PEOPLE ;

OR, H O G ' S W A S H :

( NUMBER VIII. )

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PRICE TWO-PENCE.

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*On Mr. —'s projecting New Taxes.*

IN vain the harrafs'd people strive  
To keep their gasping trade alive ;  
If bankrupt —, whom all stars curse,  
Has the disposal of their purse ;  
He, *ante manum*, will advance  
Our *future* rents for *present* chance ;  
And we ourselves this year shall be  
Trick'd by a Million Lottery ;  
Where for one thousand that get plumbs,  
Forty-nine thousand suck their thumbs.  
Then rouse yourselves, ye Men of Lands,  
Of English hearts, and unbrib'd hands,  
And rescue us from being slaves  
To home-bred Fools and foreign Knaves ;  
And if abroad we must be kick'd,  
Yet let us not at home be nick'd.



CHARACTER OF A MODERE, IN POLITICS.

BY DRYDEN.

DAMN'D neuters, in their middle way of steering,  
Are neither fish, nor flesh, nor good red herring ;  
Nor male nor female they, nor this nor that,  
Nor bird nor beast, but just a kind of bat ;  
A half-bred monster, true to neither cause ;  
With Tory wings, and Whiggish teeth and claws.

PROL. TO D. OF GUIZE.

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L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR D. I. EATON, No. 74, NEWGATE-STREET ;

*Removed from No. 81, Bishopgate Street.*

# KING CHAUNTICLERE;

OR,

## THE FATE OF TYRANNY :

*An Anecdote, related by Citizen Thelwall, at the  
Capel Court Society, during the discussion of a  
Question, relative to the comparative Influence of  
the Love of Life, of Liberty, and of the Fair Sex,  
on the Actions of Mankind.*

WE have been told, Citizen Chairman ! by a learned orator, who seems very fond of life, and who has drawn so depraved and contemptible a picture of human nature, that one must almost be ashamed of having lived to witness it, that the love of life must certainly have the strongest influence on the actions of mankind. And to prove this, he tells us a cock and bull story of Caractacus, at Rome ; who, when he had *lost his liberty*, thought it was better to have *life and love*, with a *prospect of regaining his liberty*, than to *die*, and have *no prospect at all*. He has told also another melancholy tale of a poor tortured slave in the West Indies ; not remembering, that if this *love of life*, or rather, the *fear of death*, for the distinction is evident, which he is such an advocate for, did not rather *restrain* than *influence* the actions of mankind, they would soon, by becoming acquainted with the real nature of that principle I am supporting, learn to strike unanimously for liberty, and *slavery and torture would be no more*. This poor kidnapped negro, we are told, (for there are pressgangs to make men *slaves of labour* as well as *slaves of war*) having had his hands and feet chopped off, by order of his tyrant masters, on account of some *sedition* attempt to regain his freedom, was afterwards put into a large frying

ing pan over the fire, that he might expiate, by his tortures, that impious love of liberty which he had the audacity to entertain. In the midst of his torments, we are told, that one of his companions, more compassionate than the rest, rushed towards him, and, aiming a blow with his cudgel, would have dashed out his brains, had not the poor mutilated wretch conceived (such is the curious reasoning that is offered to us by the tame advocates of life without liberty) that the tortures of the frying pan were preferable to instant death, and therefore lifted his poor bleeding stumps, with sudden terror, and broke the force of the blow. Now, if this magnanimous advocate for the *frying pan of despotism*, had happened to have reflected a little on the physical laws of the animal frame, he would have known that this motion of the arms was merely involuntary, and that neither love, nor fear, nor liberty, nor any other preference of the judgment, had any thing at all to do with it—it being natural to all animals, after they had been long used to perform certain actions in consequence of any particular stimulus, applied either to the sight or any other of the senses, to continue those actions, by mere mechanical impulse, whenever the usual objects are presented, without ever reflecting what it is they are doing; just as men of base and abject minds, who have been long used to cringe and tremble at the names of kings and lords, for fear they should be clapped up in bastiles, or turned out of their shops, continue to cringe and tremble, when neither shops nor bastiles happen to be present to their imaginations.

But in order to set this difference between mental and muscular action, in a clearer point of

view before you, I will tell you, Citizen President, a little anecdote concerning a youthful exploit of my own,—You must know then, that I used, together with a variety of youthful attachments, to be very fond of birds and poultry; and among other things of this kind, I had a very fine majestic kind of animal, a game cock: a haughty, sanguinary tyrant, nursed in blood and slaughter from his infancy — fond of foreign wars and *domestic rebellions*, into which he would sometimes drive his subjects, by his oppressive obstinacy, in hopes that he might increase his power and glory by their suppression. Now this haughty old tyrant would never let my farm-yard be quiet; for, not content with devouring by far the greater part of the grain that was scattered for the morning and evening repast, and snatching at every little treasure that the toil of more industrious birds might happen to scratch out of the bowels of the earth, the restless despot must be always picking and cuffing at the poor doves and pullets, and little defenceless chickens, so that they could never eat the scanty remnant, which his inordinate taxation left them, in peace and quietness. Now, though there were some aristocratic prejudices hanging about me, from my education, so that I could not help looking with considerable reverence, upon the majestic decorations of the person of king Chaunticlere — such as his ermine spotted breast, the fine gold trappings about his neck and shoulders, the flowing robe of plumage tucked up at his rump, and, above all, that fine ornamented thing upon his head there — (his crown, or *coxcomb*, I believe you call it — however the distinction is not very important) yet I had even, at that time, some lurking principles of aversion to barefaced despotism

potism struggling at my heart, which would sometimes whisper to me, that the best thing one could do, either for cocks and hens, or men and women, was to rid the world of tyrants, whose shrill martial clarions (the provocatives to fame and murder) disturbed the repose and destroyed the happiness of their respective communities. So I believe, if guillotines had been in fashion, I should have certainly guillotined him : being desirous to be merciful, even in the stroke of death, and knowing, that the instant the brain is separated from the heart, (which, with this instrument, is done in a moment,) pain and consciousness are at end — while the lingering torture of the rope may procrastinate the pang for half an hour. However, I managed the buisness very well; for I caught Mr. Tyrant by the head, and dragging him immediately to the block, with a heavy knife in my hand, separated his neck at a blow : and what will surprise you very much, when his fine trappings were stripped off, I found he was no better than a common tame scratch-dunghill pullet : no, nor half so good, for he was tough, and oily, and rank with the pollutions of his luxurious vices. But that which it is particularly my duty to dwell upon, as applicable to the story of the poor mutilated negro, is the continuance of the habitual muscular motion after (by means of the loss of his head) he was no longer capable of knowing what he was about. In short, having been long in the habit of flying up, and *striking* with his spurs, and cuffing about with his *arms*—or his *wings*, if you please (for anatomists can tell you, that arms are only wings without feathers, and wings are nothing but feathered arms) he still continued the same hostile kind of action, bouncing, and flap-

H 3

ping.

ping, and spurring, and scuffling about, till the muscular energy (as they call it) was exhausted; so that if the gentl man had been there, with his club stick, attempting to knock the mutilated tyrant down, he might have concluded, every time that he flapped up his wings against the stick, that this effort of King Chaunticlere proceeded from the conviction that life was worth preserving even after he had lost his head: which, in my opinion, would be just about as rational as supposing that it can be worth preserving to that man who is writhing about in *the frying pan of despotism*.

This story was received with almost unanimous applause, as was also the whole speech, till Citizen Thelwall, alluding to the wonderful exertions, which Liberty was stimulating the French to make against the whole united force of Europe, he was interrupted by some of the members of the committee; and though, upon appeal to a shew of hands, five or six to one appeared in his favour, the chairman refused to hear him; declared the society adjourned, and quitted the chair. This produced considerable confusion; and, on the part of the committee, much insolent abuse; and even an attempt from one individual to do personal violence to the speaker, by coming behind him, and attempting to fling him down. Notwithstanding which he continued to harrangue the people; and was at last conducted away with shouts of triumph by the greater part of the company.

On the evening of the next debate the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to. —

1. That the free discussion of political opinions, in public assenblies, is an invaluable and constitutional right of Britons, which must be defended

fended with the most jealous caution, and transmitted inviolate to our posterity. 2. That in every public Debating Society it is the undoubted right of every individual, paying for his admission, to deliver his sentiments freely; and that it is the duty of every chairman to support such speaker, as much as if he were a member of the committee of this society. 3. That this right was invaded, and this duty violated on the evening of the last debate, both by the chairman and committee of this society. 4. That the charges and insinuations in the posting bill, distributed by the said committee, relative to that debate, are partly false, partly impertinent, and altogether unprincipled, and calculated to promote disturbance, and prevent the public exercise of the right of free and impartial discussion. 5. That the chairman be called upon to make an apology, in the name of the committee, for the indecent violation of the duties of their station, and the respect due from them to the public.

The chairman was accordingly compelled to beg pardon publicly of the society before the debate was permitted to proceed.

These circumstances are important to be generally known; since they prove, that notwithstanding the false appearances which have been artfully assumed by intriguing and interested individuals, pretending to more authority than they have, there is no power in this country that can openly and legally interfere to prevent the freedom of political discussion, if individuals will have spirit enough to assert it.

*The*

*The REFLECTIONS of a TRUE BRITON.*

**K**INGS are *wel' shēpherds*. Homer stiles them *devourers of the people*; and they do not appear to have lost their original taste.

Is it true, that the celebrated female republican, Macauley, gloried that her eyes had never been sullied by the sight of a monster, called *King*?

It was observed, by an antient author, that one might engrave the names and portraits of all good Princes on a ring.\* Since the day of the above author, would it be possible to discover a sufficient number to fill up a second ring?

Were it possible to love a king, (said Montesquieu) I should have loved Henry the Fourth.

Royalty, in this particular, resembles Christianity, never having greater enemies than its ministers,

A Physician once said to his patient, who credulously swallowed all his prescriptions: "You *deserve* to be sick." Thus tyrants may cry out to the swinish multitude, "Ye *deserve* to be slaves"

An Italian prince reproached a young man with ingratitude, and with a cold insensibility to the favour he had conferred on him in his infancy. And what was this favour? By a most cruel operation, and at the expence of his manhood, he had conferred on him the advantage of an effeminate voice — too faithful a picture of the *mildness* of monarchical governments!

The republic of Rome increased in power and greatness, amid incessant and most violent distractions. Lutheranism made rapid progress amidst the vast variety of schisms that seemed to threaten its destruction. Will France prove an

Vide Vopscum, in Aurel. cap. 42.

an exception to the general rule? *Concordia parva res crescent.*

The art of reigning, the most important of all others, is the only art which a man is intitled to practise, without first having learned or even studied it. One may make the same remark respecting the command of armies, since one so often beholds at their head, *boyish, profligate, and idiot princes.*

To assert that nations are formed for kings, would be as absurd, as to pretend that ships are built, equipped, and freighted, out of pure love for the pilot.

Before the French Revolution, France, that mighty nation, was no more than the anti-chamber of Versailles!

Bolingbroke has said, that there are three different species in the human kind — Whites, Blacks, and Kings. This exception is more witty than true. The distance between king and man is far greater then between a black and white. The phrase of the Count d'Aranda seems much more just: "I would fain be a *dog* or *king* for some time, in order that I might discover how *brutes* think."

Monsieur Condorcet, when he announced in his Gazette, that our theatre had been shut up, on the news of Louis Capet's death, pleasantly observed, *That it was not the common players who acted in the farce of that day.*

A fast has been long ordained, in order to expiate the martyrdom of Charles I. If fasts were ordained for expiation of the infinity of atrocities, committed by kings, *every day would be a fast.*

"If we have a *Prince*" said Pliny to Trajan "it is, that he may prevent us from having a *Master.*" Is this the language of modern courtiers?

tiers? They glory in their servitude — and exclaim, with pride, “ *The King, my Master!* ”

Away with stars and garters; the trappings of monarchy are the patents of slavery.

*Anglia vicisti, profuso turpiter auro,  
Armis pauca, dolo plurima, jure nihil.*

England! thou hast conquered by a base profusion of gold; nothing hast thou done by arms; nothing by right: To perfidy and foulest treachery thou owest all!

*Gallia! vicisti, armorum vi, jureque cuncta,  
Nil profuso auro, perfidiaque nihil.*

France! thou hast conquered by right and force of arms; nothing hast thou done by gold, nothing by perfidy!

#### *Distresses of Spital Fields Weavers.*

THE extreme indigence and distress, suffered by the numerous manufacturers, who have been robbed of all means of support by the present war, call, not only for the pity, but for the aid of the humane: Nor have these appeals to the finest feelings of the heart been slighted; since several worthy characters have commenced a subscription, in favour of the poor Spital-fields weavers, whose calamities appear to be brought almost to the highest pitch of sufferance. With the hope of promoting so good a design, the writer of these few lines wishes to anticipate those objections, which, having repeatedly heard urged in private companies, he fears, if suffered to remain unanswered, may influence the minds of many and furnish them with pretexts for resist-  
ing

ing the importunities of the benevolent and humane.

The chief objections which have been urged against a general subscription, for these unhappy sufferers, are, that those master weavers, who have gained large fortunes, by the labour of these men, ought now to support them—That the maintenance of these unfortunate people, should be afforded by the respective parishes to which they belong—That the mitigation of the distresses of the army, employed in introducing monarchy into France, and now exposed to the inclemency of a foreign clime, has a prior claim to our attention—Lastly, that such a subscription might impede that which is already instituted for the benefit of the distressed Clergy of France, and the French emigrants in general.

With respect to the first objection, it may be remarked, that the fortunes, possessed by the master weavers of Spital-fields are not so immense, as will warrant, for a moment, the supposition of their having been acquired by any oppressions of the manufacturers; but are, on the contrary, such as might be expected to have been obtained from a profit more fairly proportioned to the profits of the workman, than that which is to be found in most other extensive manufactories. And surely, where this is the case, the manufacturers can have no further claim on their immediate employers than on any individual of the community, who possesses the power of relieving them. Besides, when the early activity which the master weavers have exerted, for the relief of their workmen is considered, it cannot but evince, that not only no blame can rest with them, but that every praise is due to them for thier human anxiety to diminish those distresses, which

which they have in vain attempted to prevent. Nor must it be omitted in this place to remark, that in times like the present, the masters are joint sufferers with their journeymen, and that, consequently, many of them must be unable to indulge the pleasing propensities of a sympathising heart, to that extent which they may wish. This observation cannot be esteemed unnecessary, since it may guard the unfortunate against the atrocious attempts of wicked and designing men, who may artfully catch at the moment of distress, to point the vengeance of the desperate against particular individuals.

The answer to the second objection is brief, but cannot fail to be satisfactory. The work-houses of the different parishes, inhabited by these wretched people are now overflowing; and the poor rates are, consequently, so high, as to bear no comparison with those of the surrounding parishes.

To those, who are rather disposed to subscribe for the purpose of supplying with necessaries, the army which is engaged, in establishing monarchy in France, I make no hesitation to say, that their money would be much better employed in a subscription for the starving manufacturer, than for soldiers employed by government, let their distresses be what they may. For it should be considered, that to support the soldier is the particular business of a minister, appointed almost for the purpose; and should that minister not fulfil the duties of his office, he becomes liable to impeachment for his omission. Such a subscription, I therefore say, is unnecessary — But that is not all — It is dangerous, since it leads to the infringement of some of those principles, which the admirers of our form of government

government will declare are, not only most valuable and most essential, but entirely indispensable.

The power of making war and peace is permitted to the king, the Commons' house reserving to itself the power of disbanding the army, by refusing the necessary supplies, at any time when, in its wisdom, it may conceive a war is likely to prove injurious to the nation. A subscription, therefore, for the support of the soldiery, by private individuals, by taking the business out of the hands of Parliament, destroys, in proportion to the sums subscribed, the just and constitutional balance which should be maintained between the crown and people; and, in the same degree diminishes the necessary dependence of Ministers on Parliament. Nor must it be forgotten, that this principle is as certainly infringed by the subscription of a *flannel waistcoat*, as by a private loan of a million. — Pitiably indeed must be that army, which is supported by *charitable contributions*; and dangerous must be the state of this nation, when its Ministers have recourse to *extorted benevolences*, in the place of constitutional aids.

As to those who say, that they would have no objection to add to the sum collected for the Spital-fields weavers, were it not that they have already engaged themselves in an expensive subscription for the support of the distressed clergy of France — In the name of Charity and Justice, let these be asked, which of these parties have, at present, the strongest claim on the benevolent. Have not full thirty thousand pounds been already subscribed for the French emigrants: whilst the Committee, engaged in favour of the Spital-field weavers have, with all their kind exertions,

exertions, during almost five months, been only able to collect the sum of six hundred and twenty seven pounds? Have not many of the emigrant priests been supplied with half-a-guinea *per week*, whilst the subscription for the Spital-fields weavers has been almost expended in procuring for them *bread alone*? Are not the Spital-fields weavers chiefly composed of the descendants of those unhappy men, who were driven from France for their attachment to the Protestant religion? — And is it not believed, among the Roman Catholics, who compose the emigrants of the present day, that the conversion of heretics, as we are called, to their holy faith, is a work, which certainly secures to them the favour of heaven?



### *Systematic Murder.*

**O**F him, who steeps his sword in the blood of thousands, who disdains tamely to sacrifice their ancient and most sacred rights to lawless ambition, what shall we say, but that he adds barbarity to injustice; that he punishes the supposed offence which his own outrages had provoked; and executes, with calm deliberation, those schemes of destruction, which even the sudden impetuosity of passion is insufficient to palliate! A disposition, naturally cruel, may be corrected by time, or controuled by circumstances. But when the tender feelings of the heart are overpowered, by the suggestions of the understanding; when those suggestions are adopted from choice, and confirmed by habit; when they seize every opportunity, and rush into every extreme; when they call in artificial severity, to promote artificial utility, and thus pursue;

pursue a bad end by the worst means; the enormities of ambition become more criminal in their motives, and more pernicious in their effects. Instinctive cruelty acts only irregularly, and by starts; but a voluntary and systematic disregard to the peace of mankind is more constant and more terrible in its operations. The former crushes only those persons who, with or without reason, are the objects of resentment; the latter spares not a friend, who appears in the character of a rival; and crushes every seeming or real obstacle to its remotest views, without distinction, and without hesitation. He that is barbarous from nature, may sometimes be overtaken by compunction; and review his crimes with detestation and horror. He that destroys his fellow creatures, for sake of personal advantages arising from their destruction, not only provides an excuse for his outrages, but sanctifies cruelty with the name of wisdom; and reflects, it may be, upon his success with unfeeling indifference, or perhaps with savage exultation.

*White's Bamptonian Sermons.*



## A B A L L A D.

*From the Proclamation — A Poem.*

**I**N Gotham once we had a bird,  
 More forward far than shy,  
 What species 'twas I never heard,  
 But chatt'ring 'twas and sly.  
 With curious whims it was possess'd,  
 To rail at all those things,  
 Which pleased Gothamites the best;  
 He spared not even kings.

Saw

Saw he the Mayor — he'd laugh outright,  
 The same with Aldermen,  
 And thus he'd serve each Peer or Knight,  
 That came within his ken;  
 A King, 'tis said, he once did spy,  
 And soon his tongue let loose,  
 He laugh'd, cried bo, which did imply,  
 He thought him but a goose,  
 Each Gothamite was sadly stung,  
 By all his jokes and jeers;  
 But they could neither stop his tongue,  
 Nor would they their own ears:  
 But out of town a little way,  
 They once this bird did find;  
 Stop said the Mayor, hear what I say,  
 A thought's come in my mind.  
 See, see that rogue on yonder tree,  
 Which has no other near,  
 Now doubt me not, if all agree,  
 We'll of this rogue get clear:  
 We'll with a hedge encompass round  
 The tree on which he sits,  
 Here may he prate, in this his pound,  
 Here have his laughing fits.  
 Then all set to this hedge to raise,  
 And told this saucy bird,  
 Thou here may'st chatter all thy days,  
 And we not hear a word:  
 Then tow'rd's him all their eyes they bent,  
 And loudly cry'd huzza;  
 Now Tom knew well what all this meant,  
 So laugh'd — and flew away.

# POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE.

( NUMBER IX. )

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PRICE TWO PENCE.

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## THE WOLF.

A WOLF, retiring from Whitehall,  
Where he had Statesman been,  
Built for himself a box so small,  
That few could be receiv'd within;  
The country all admir'd at this,  
And could not at the reason guess,  
Why one so wealthy and so great  
Should cage himself at such a rate.  
Till at the last a Fox came by,  
A Courtier also, sleek and sly,  
And thus in earnest and jest,  
His reason gave among the rest —  
Perhaps my Lord Commissioner intends  
Here only to receive *his honest friends*.

---

## *The Republican COCK.*

A DUNGHILL Cock was raking in the ground,  
And flirted up a pearl;  
I would, quoth he, thou hadst been found  
By some great Lord or Earl;  
Myself a single barley-corn  
Would rather surely find;  
We creatures that are dull, earth-born,  
Things only *useful* mind:  
Whilst they, who are *divinely* wise,  
And do from Jove proceed,  
Thy gawdy orient lustre prize,  
And for thy beauty trade.

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L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR D. I. EATON, No. 74, NEWGATE-STREET.

# THE POOR DEBTOR:

## A T A L E.

*With Reflections on the equal Distribution of Justice  
in this Country.*

FROM THE PERIPATETIC.

I ARRIVED at the place of my designation time enough to learn that the poor unfortunate old man, to whom my unwelcome embassy was addressed, had just departed from his home. This was the third journey I had made, to no purpose, upon a trifling affair, which a man of parts, in his profession,\* would have had address — to wit, dissimulation enough to have executed with ease upon the first; for so totally unsuspecting were the family of the poor debtor at my first appearance, that they pressed me, with all the generous ardour of hospitality, to set down with them to the breakfast table, alledging, that they knew he would be at home again in half an hour. So that I had nothing to do but to eat of the poor man's bread, and to drink of his cup, and enjoy, with hypocritical countenance, the friendly conversation of his dearest attachments, and I might have secured the opportunity of making such a return of gratitude as ninety-nine out of an hundred of all the attornies in England would have thought worthy of the highest commendation — But, inconceivable as it may appear to gentlemen of this description, my heart smote me at the bare idea: the whole system of intellectual nature seemed to revolt within me; and though half the attractions of the little blooming maiden, who with all the unsuspecting innocence of youth, placed me a chair, and repeated the invitations of her mother, would

\* That of an Attorney.

would have been sufficient, on any other occasion, to rivet me on the spot. I made an awkward apology; told them I would call again, and retreated with a degree of confusion, which nothing less than the consciousness of perpetrated guilt could possibly have increased.

Good, artless, hospitable family! said I, as I hurried back to the fields to indulge in privacy the starting tear — Ye little, smiling, unsuspecting cherubs! and thou sweet blossom of expanding beauty (for the interesting form of Anna had touched my heart) how little do you suspect the ruin that is perhaps impending. But my embarrassment had roused suspicion. The husband, when I returned, had departed for the day; the deportment of the wife was become distant and abrupt; and even the charming little Anna, lovely in the midst of her confusion, seemed to blush as much with anger as with modesty — Yet my heart was innocent of offence; nor would I have blighted, with the dews of sorrow, the unfolding rose of her simple loveliness, for all that the spoils of legal oppression could furnish.

The reader may probably hear more of little Anna hereafter; and in the mean time he will not be sorry to be informed, that as all my expeditions were equally unsuccessful, the poor man had an opportunity of settling his little debt without the assistance of the law: a circumstance agreeable enough to himself and family, who might otherwise have been irretrievably ruined; but not equally fortunate for his Grace the Duke of Grafton, the patriotic \* \*\* \*\*, and some other exalted characters, equally honourable and equally useful to society, who lost thereby some of those fees and emoluments which the *Swinish*

*Multitude, who are guilty of debt and poverty, are justly doomed to pay for the support of their benignant splendour.*

Yes, Britons! it is but just that those illustrious characters, who derive their *hereditary wisdom* and *hereditary virtues* from the intrigues of *Gallic courtizans* and the amours of *theatrical prostitutes*, yea, and the heirs apparent of those sagacious luminaries of *political science*, to whom we are indebted for the important discovery, that *Truth is a Libel*; and a long train of amiable and active members of the community, who have equal claims to national gratitude, should accumulate salutary burthens, for the better support of their sacred dignity, on the shoulders of *litigious suitors* in the courts of King's-bench, Chancery, and Common-pleas; and if you have the presumption to *print* one sentence to the contrary, the learned advocate of a virtuous Administration shall prosecute you for the *audacious libel*; — nay, if you dare but *speak* one word of discontent or doubt, within the boundaries of a certain *sapient* commercial Corporation, the *steady* and *consistent* Chief Magistrate shall atone for the *patriotic* errors of his youth, by planting constables at your door, to keep you out of your own castle.

To be serious. The expence of litigation has long, and justly, been an object of complaint. But the fees to practitioners do not, in fact, constitute the real oppression. It would stagger all belief, were it to be fully stated, how considerable a part of the taxed costs have been paid out of the practitioner's pocket, to *nominal officers*, to support the influence of patronage and corruption, and increase the unwieldy opulence of an insolent aristocracy.

Nor

Nor does the evil end here. The *equal spirit* of the English law, and the constant attention of our Government to *proportionate taxation*, have wisely determined that the quantum of *alms* paid to these honourable characters, by the suitor for forty shillings, and for ten thousand pounds, should be the same; and as there is a considerable difference between the *actual* and *recovered* costs, if a labouring man, or a little tradesman, should have fifty or a hundred pounds due to him, in small debts of forty or fifty shillings, and should he seek redress according to the laws of the land, he must be inevitably ruined by the extra charges which his attorney has a right to claim, although he should recover a verdict in every individual instance. And yet a Learned authority has ventured to affirm, that *The Law of England is equally open to the rich and to the poor* — And so it is — *Facilis* (to adopt a hackneyed quotation)

*Facilis discensus Averni :  
Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis.*

“ The gates of hell are open night and day ;

“ Smooth the descent, and easy is the way.”

But the misfortune is, that while the former, who sues for thousands, obtains redress — the latter, who sues for trifles, is ruined.



*A Dialogue between a Courtier and a Patriot.*

A FRAGMENT, FROM THE N.... B....

— — — — — *She, without fear,  
Did dare to make the truth appear.*

C O U R T I E R.

WHAT, Sir, can be the cause of the present dissatisfaction of the people ?

*Patriot.*

*Patriot.* Their dissatisfaction, Sir, is owing to a variety of causes; but the two principal seem to be, the uncertainty of the law in some essential points, and the insupportable load of the public taxes.

*Courtier.* Whence, Sir, can arise this uncertainty of the law?

*Patriot.* It is owing, Sir, to the capricious detail of an *arbitrary disposition, which sets up its own caprice in the place of law*, and then makes the law as vague and uncertain as that very caprice itself; it is owing to a poor pusillanimity, that with solicitude, is ever inventing *new snares to entangle civil liberty*; it is owing to the pride and jealousy of power, which never thinks it can make itself sufficiently felt; and, in short, it is owing to the vain desire of superintending a multiplicity of *minute objects*, which would all work themselves clear, and be properly adjusted, without any such superintendence. For, Sir, in these circumstances, is it in the least surprising, that the subjects should be so often refractory to the authority of government, for while the *laws*, which *limit and abridge the liberties of the people*, are ever expounded with *rigour*; those on the other hand, which *favour natural freedom*, receive too often a negligent, a *temporising construction*.

*Courtier.* You say, Sir, that the public taxes are by far too heavy, but you do not consider, that if the people are left too much at their ease, they grow, by a natural consequence, lazy, arrogant, rebellious, and untractable.

*Patriot.* Gracious heaven! will assuring to men the fruits of their labour give them an aversion to industry? Will men become rebels because their happiness is secured and promoted?

But

But the fear is, that they will prove arrogant — Alas ! I know, that *little tyrants* would be glad to see them *crouch like slaves under their master's lash*. But I would desire to know to whom should the subject bend, while his conduct is free from reproach or guilt ? There is no power on earth but that of the *laws*, and of the legal sovereign, to which an honest member of society owes any deference. I would ask farther, will usurpation be as sure of having obedience paid to it, as will that mild authority, which creates for itself, a kind of paternal empire over the hearts of men, by works of beneficence, and by generous deeds that call for gratitude, affection, and esteem ? Believe me, I know the character of the people ; they are not what they are represented. Are they dispirited, nay disaffected ? — it is owing to their grievances. Is their temper soured ? and are they grown reluctant to obey ? — it is because they find themselves for ever acquiring, and never sure of possessing. In sober sadness, this is the truth ; but it is disguised with art ; designing men dogmatize on the subject, and they endeavour to give their falsehood the air and sanction of appearing systematical. The principle upon which they ground themselves is, *that the race of man lives in subserviency to a very small part of the species, and that the world was made for the use of themselves and a few leading men*.

*Courtier*. It is an inconceivable pride, and yet a pride too common in the human mind.

*Patriot*. Not so common as you imagine ; we hear it indeed often, but it is from men who are acting a part ; it is a sort of paradox in politics, that never had one sincere believer. I will venture to say, there never yet existed a *person of*  
*commu*

*common sense, however eminent his station, who upon a comparative view of himself, and the people who support, who nourish, and defend him, did not shrink back with humility into himself; for he feels his imbecility, his necessities, and his state of dependence. His pride is a mask, a mere assumed character, but the mischief is, he is so practised in the character that he has learnt to play it well, and to impose upon his audience.*

*Courtier.* It must be owned, indeed, that the people are rather too much depressed; but happily little is wanting to that race of men, inured as they are to penury and labour! Beyond the excitements of appetite, and the first wants of nature, their ambition never rises: let them have bread, and they have content along with it.

*Patriot.* To say the truth, Sir, one would imagine that you had lived your days in courts, for you are master of the language. What you have now advanced has been too often rung in the ears of the most amiable of princes, in order that he might be the more readily induced to oppress his people, and that he might do it without remorse. The people, it is true, have not the inordinate wants, which luxury has created in the higher ranks of life; and therefore they are more likely to be reasonable in their complaints and demands. In the Court-dictionary, to want the necessities of life, implies the want of ability to maintain *twenty useless horses, and as many idle drunks in livery*; in the honest meaning of the simple labourer and mechanic, it is to want wherewithal to nourish a poor old father bending under years and infirmities; to rear a little race of infants, whose feeble arms are yet unfit for work; and to comfort a virtuous wife, who is either breeding or nursing a new object of the Fate.

*Courtier.*

~~The Reader is requested to pass over two leaves p. 125, 6, 7, 8,~~  
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PLAIN ENGLISH } By OLD HUBERT.

( To be continued. )



THOMAS MUIR, Esq.

AND THE

Reverend THOMAS FYSHE PALMER.

*The Victims of — — — —*

- ..... " A tale unfold  
" To harrow up the soul, freeze the *free blood*;  
" Make each particular hair to stand on end  
" Like quills upon the fretful porcupine."

ON the trial of Mr. MUIR, *Lord Justice Clerk* said, most *sagaciously and charitably*, like a *Judge*, and like a *Lord* — that he *never liked the French all his days*, but now he *bated them*.

— That harranguing such multitudes of *ignorant weavers* about their grievances, might have been attended

attended with the worst consequences to the peace of the Nation and the safety of our gracious Constitution.

— Mr. Muir might have known that no attention would be paid to such a RABBLE.\* *What right had they to representation?* He could have told them that the Parliament would never listen to their petition — How could they think of it? A Government in every country should be like a Corporation; and in this country it is made up of *the landed interest*, which *alone* has a right to be represented; as for the RABBLE, who have nothing but personal property, what hold has the nation of them? What security for the payment of their taxes? *They may pack up all their properties on their backs*, and leave the country in the twinkling of an eye; but landed property cannot be removed.

Mr. Muir was sentenced to TRANSPORTATION for FOURTEEN YEARS! — A sentence which one of his Judges (Lord Henderland) declared, “ *It wrung his very heart to mention.* ” — Another of his Judges, indeed (Lord Swinton) thought no punishment could be found in our law *sufficient*, now that *torture* is abolished.

The

\* “ How various and innumerable

“ Are those who LIVE upon the RABBLE.”

BUTLER.

“ Shall we bend low, and in a bondfman’s key,

“ With bated breath and whispering humbleness,

“ Say this — Fair Sir, you spit on us last Wednesday,

“ You spurn’d us such a day — another time

“ You called us dogs! — And for these courtesies

“ We’ll lend you thus much monies.”

SHAKESPEARE.

• The Oracle of the 3d of December (1793) tells us (are we Englishmen that hear it!) that Mr. Muir and Mr. Palmer are now on board the hulks at Woolwich\* — that the vessel in which they were first put had three hundred convicts on board — that the next day they were *seperated*, and thereby robbed of that comfort which they had derived from each others company† — that they are at present IRONED, and obliged to perform the same labour as their fellow prisoners.

This is the situation of a Clergyman and of a Gentleman, for whom the judge we have already mentioned (Lord Henderland) thought whipping too severe and disgraceful, the more especially, he says, to a man who had borne *bis character and rank* in life. The punishment however accords with the passionate epithets which the Lord Advocate was pleased to bestow on Mr. Muir, of WRETCH, FIEND, DEMON of DISCORD, &c.

“ BRUTUS, THOU SLEEP’ST.”

SHAKESPEAR.

\* In Mr. MUIR’s sentence, it is particularly specified — “ That the said THOMAS MUIR be carried back to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, therein to be detained ’till he is delivered over for being so transported,” &c.

In Mr. PALMER’s sentence, we also find it adjudged — “ That the said T. F. PALMER be carried back to the Tolbooth of Perth, therein to remain ’till an opportunity offers of transporting him.”

† Happily it was not in the power of their tormentors to rob them of the conviction of having acted agreeably to conscience, and of having engaged in a good, a just, and a glorious cause, with the hope that their sufferings will not be wholly lost; but will, by the blessing of that Great BEING, whom they serve, be rendered efficacious to the good of their fellow creatures.

*Courtier.* But, Sir, will you not allow, that there are times of public calamity, when Government may exert a *dispensing power*, and *state necessity* is then the law which imposes new burthens and taxes on the people?

*Patriot.* No, Sir, I will never allow it. To that *state necessity* I am a perfect stranger; the occasion for that dispensing power I have never yet seen. But to represent things in their true lights—Do you know where the mischief lies, that makes the labourer and mechanic groan in misery? It rests with that *superior class*, as it is called, *who pass away their hours in idleness and riot*; by them the whole burden is thrown upon honesty. They reap almost all the advantages of the civil union, and yet contribute the least to its support; they do nothing for the strength and dignity of the Government, which gives them so much ease and enjoyment; they repay nothing for the benefits they receive; and yet in their case it seems a privileged, an honourable insolvency.



### AN E C D O T E.

LORD RUSSEL, a little before his execution, being flattered with hopes of life by some Divine, if he would acknowledge to the king, “That he believed subjects had, in no case whatever, a right of resistance against the throne” — He answered in these words — “I can have no conception of a *limited* monarchy, which has not a right to defend its own *limitations*; my conscience will not permit me to say otherwise of the king.”

C A T -

# CATALOGUE. RAISONNÉE.

*The ORIGIN of EVIL.*

THIS is a book of great antiquity, it bearing the same date with the *first institution* of MONARCHY by the Assyrians

*ACTA REGIA:*  
*Or the Actions of Kings.*

Printed in a *red* letter, and bound in *black* Morocco, the leaves stained.

*A Discourse on the enormous Sin of Covetousness.*

AND

*A practical Essay on Compound Interest. Printed at Venice — Cum privilegio.*

Of the intrinsic merit of these works we have it not in our power to say much; but when we view their splendid binding and expensive gilding, we are disposed to imagine them to have belonged to some *very illustrious personage*. We therefore cannot avoid this opportunity of calling the attention of the public to them, since others may discover in them merits, which, as plain, but honest tradesmen, we confess we cannot.

*The History of Finance, With some Remarks on the Inefficacy of the Bankrupt Laws.*

Written by some young men, not much known in the paths of science.

*A Sketch of the Environs of DUNKIRK.*

*Crude THOUGHTS on the Slave Trade: Or, An Illustration of the Rights of Humanity.*

Of these works we can say no more than that they are printed on *common Fooks Cap*, and *splendidly* bound in *calfs*, but — *not lettered*.

*BURLESQUE upon BURLESQUE.*

*A Farce*

Some persons have been bold enough to assert, that in this work are to be discovered indisputable marks of the *hereditary wisdom* of its authors. That wisdom runs in the blood, like *madness* or the *King's evil*, is not an article of our creed, nor will the work before us have any tendency to make us apostatise from the faith in which we have been educated.

*APPEARANCE is  
against THEM.*

*A Farce.*

*The AUCTION-ROOM.*

*A Farce.*

*The Excellency and Beauty  
of the CHURCH of  
ENGLAND.*

*KING and NO KING;  
OR, THE  
Plunder partitioned.*

*The Guardian Angel;  
Or, the BENEFICENT SYLPH  
A Romance.*

*The RUSSIAN WIFE.  
A Tragedy.*

From these ridiculous farces it is impossible that the public can derive either pleasure or advantage. Indeed, the *authors* who represent the chief characters must be under the necessity of exerting all their address in averting the fury of that part of the public, who have been induced to attend to a *Farical Representation*, which cannot fail to corrupt the public mind, and materially injure their *dearest interests* as ENGLISHMEN, and their most solemn rights as MEN.

By the Bench of BISHOPS. — The discerning reader will immediately discover, even on viewing a few pages of this book, that characteristic animation which proves the Right Reverend authors to be truly interested in the subject in which they have here engaged themselves.

The former of these works is by STANISLAUS, king of Poland. — The latter is a work performed by his neighbours, the Empress of Russia and the King of Prussia. We scruple not to assert, that these works ought to be carefully read by all the people of the earth.

By CATHARINE, empress of all the Russias. — In this and the other works of this sentimental and pathetic Authors, the reader will find scenes well calculated to harrow the soul and call up the tenderest passions. — Of the Tragedy, 'The Russian Wife,' we must observe, that little care indeed seems to be had in the preservation of character, but the

*The Russian Wife, &c.*  
(Continued.)

the *denouement* is interesting, and the *plot*, which appears to have been well managed. — This lady, we are credibly informed, condescended to perform a principal character in this truly horrid tragedy of her own composing.

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In these Discourses, which so fully breathe the spirit of the divine Author of Christianity, an intelligent reader will soon discover the pen of Dr. Horsley.

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These works having formerly been much read, are consequently rather soiled; in consideration of which, and their being now out of fashion, they will be sold ex- ing cheap, and must of course be articles worthy the attention of trunk-makers, pastry-cooks, &c.

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The long and successful experience of the author of this work (Mr. H. DUNDAS) in this lucrative trade, must assure the readers of the fullest information on so truly interesting a subject.

*SEJANUS;*  
*A serious Tale.*

By Mr. PITT.

# POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE;

(NUMBER X.

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PRICE TWO-PENCE.

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THE most despotic Governments depend for their existence on opinion, as well as the most free.—If the concert of Princes should be baffled, the prejudices of their subjects will be shaken, and the foundation of their thrones will from that moment be insecure.

Behold then, once more, a crisis which has so often occurred in history; which has persecuted so frequent and so awful a warning to rulers, and has presented it so often in vain! A government bankrupt by its own waste and folly; sensible of its insecurity, and therefore jealous, irritable, and oppressive. A people already labouring under almost intolerable burthens, and doomed to suffer others more heavy still—casting off with its prejudices, the habitual submission and respect to its rulers, and imbibing those immutable truths which are so dangerous to oppressors, and, sometimes indeed so fatal to those who are oppressed. Every day the breach widens.—the sword at length is drawn, and the scabbard cast away.—In the dreadful conflict which follows, there is only one alternative; The Government must be overturned, or the people reduced to the condition of beasts. We cannot have forgotten the causes which have produced the revolutions of Switzerland, Holland and England.—which have so recently produced the revolution of France, the same causes are again conspiring to shake all Europe to its centre; and to form a new æra in human affairs.

*A Letter commercial and political, addressed to the Rt Hon Wm Pitt,  
by Jasper Wilson, Esq,*

WHAT mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor. *Isaiah iii. 15.*

To turn aside the needy from Judgement, and to take away THE RIGHT from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey and that they may rob the fatherless.

AND what will ye do in the day of visitation and in the desolation which shall come from far? to whom will ye flee for help? and where will leave your GLORY? *Isaiah x. 1.2.3*

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L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR D. I. EATON, No. 74, NEWGATE-STREET,

*Removed from No. 81, Bishopsgate Street,*

# CATALOGUE RAISONNÉE,

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by half. } Authors of this work have done  
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*Unconstitutional* mode of raising  
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Honest man's fortune | By CITIZEN FROST.

The young Man's best companion. } By Sir J—n L—de.

Virtue rewarded

This is a work in Old English, exceedingly scarce, nearly, if not quite out of print. Nor can a new Edition, in these times be within our expectations.

*Parody on the old song of the Vicar of Bray, Burthen of the song, " I'll drink my Gallon a day Sir; "* } By Sir W.     n     L     s

*An essay on Reform.* } By the LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY.

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*That truly humorous farce of Don Quixotte in England. — with The Changeling, a true Tale.* } By the DUKE OF RICHMOND.

An essay on *Optics*,  
with a new theory of  
*Vision*.

The *Spectator*, a Co-  
medy. — With the farce  
of *All in a Mist*.

By LORD HOWE,

Council of the Moon,

Printed at PILLNITZ.

*The Runaways*. a Co-  
medy.

By THE DUTCH.

The *Tutor of Truth*. —  
The *last Day of Tyrants*,  
with an *elegy on Royalty*.  
— The *Swindlers detected*,  
and a *Peep behind the Cur-*  
*tain*.

By — — —, an Exile.

The *favourites of Feli-*  
*city*, or the *Fools of Qua-*  
*lity*.

By the LORDS OF THE BED  
CHAMBER.

*Hard labour and little*  
*Profit*, or *Industry un-*  
*rewarded*.

By LORD MANSFIELD, Clerk  
of the Court of King's Bench.

The prospect of hu-  
man Misery.

By the *Spitalfields Weavers*,  
and the numerous Manufacturers  
out of employ.

The *grounds and rea-*  
*son of the contempt of the*  
*Clergy*, with necessary  
deductions from the  
*Tythe Laws*.

By the Author of *Establishments*.

*The Sermon on the Mount*  
humourously travestied

By the dignified Clergy.

The beauty of Holiness } By F—. B—. of O.—.

A congratulatory address to *Sir James Saunderson*, the late Lord Mayor, for his excessive zeal in the preservation of the *Rights and Liberties* of a free people. — And a Remonstrance with the French Nation for their want of Religion. } By JOHN WILKES, Author of the *North Briton*, and once esteemed the Champion of Liberty; but now Chamberlain of London, and the friend of Mr. Pitt.

The *Guardian of Liberty*, a Satire. } By Sir James Saunderson.

*City Honours*, a Farce, } By PAUL LE MESURIER, the present Lord Mayor.  
*Limberbam*, or the compleat Courtier. }

The pleasant comedy of } Newly revived by the joint labours of ALDERMAN WATSON, and HAVILAND LE MESURIER, brother to the Lord Mayor.  
the *Commissary*, }

SPIES are the principal agents of a government weak, restless, and mutinous; and the quantity formerly in Paris is incredible; besides a great number who made it their sole business, almost all that large corps, who by day clean shoes and at night carry a *falor*, that is, a farthing candle in a paper lanthorn, are of that honourable order. They were moreover very frequently employed in a criminal curiosity, rather than in what strictly regarded the public utility; all their discoveries

discoveries, so artfully procured, frequently produced nothing more than a false light, which deceived the magistrate. What was worse, this corps of informers, seduced by bribes, became a corrupted mass that infected society; all the pleasures of conversation was banished; men could no longer open their hearts to each other; they were reduced to the cruel alternative of imprudence or hypocrisy. In vain did the soul struggle to express its ideas of patriotism; it dared not declare its sentiments; saw the snare that was spread, and pierced with grief, returned cold and solitary to its secret abode. In a word, men were then incessantly obliged to disguise their words, their looks, and actions, O! how disconcerting to the generous soul, who saw the monsters of his country smile while they preyed upon it; who saw, and dared not point them out.

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It has been abundantly proved, that the liberty of the press is the true measure of the liberty of the people, and is equivalent to a mathematical demonstration. The one cannot be attacked without injury to the other. Our thoughts ought to be perfectly free; to bridle them, or stifle them in their sanctuary, is the crime of *lese* humanity. What can I call my own, if my thoughts are not mine;

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In going from this place, I observed toward the right, on a magnificent pedestal, the figure of a negro; his head was bare, his arm extended, his eye fierce, his attitude noble and commanding, round him were spread the broken reliques of twenty scepters; and at his feet I read these words: *To the avenger of the new world.*

I cried out with surprise and joy — “Yes,” they said, with equal rapture; “Nature has at last produced

produced this wonderful man, this immortal man, who was at last to deliver a world from the most outrageous, the most inveterate and atrocious tyranny. His sagacity, his valour, his patience, his fortitude, and virtuous vengeance, have been rewarded; he has broke asunder the chains of all his countrymen. So vast a number of slaves, oppressed by the most odious servitude, seemed but to wait his signal to become so many heroes. Not the torrent that breaks the dykes, nor the bursting thunder, have a more sudden, or a more violent effect. At the same instant, they poured forth the blood of all their tyrants French, Spanish, English, Dutch, and Portuguese, all became a prey to the sword, to fire, and poison. The soil of America drank with avidity that blood for which it had so long thirsted; and the bones of their ancestors, cowardly butchered, seem'd to rise up and leap for joy.

The natives have re-assumed their unalienable rights, as they were those of nature. This heroic avenger has given liberty to a world, of which he is the tutelar deity; and the other world has decreed him crowns and homages. He came like the storm which extends itself over some criminal city, that the thunder is ready to destroy; he was the exterminating angel, to whom God resigned his sword of justice; he has shewn by this example, that, sooner or later, cruelty will be punished; and that Providence keeps in reserve such mighty souls, to send them upon the earth, that they may restore that equilibrium which the iniquity of ferocious ambition had destroyed.

Three things are held in peculiar honour among us ; to be the father of a child, to cultivate a field, and to build a house. The culture of the land is also moderate ; the husbandman does not toil from early dawn till after sun-set, bear all the heat of the day, and exhausted sink, imploring in vain a small portion of what springs from the labour of his hands. Can there be a destiny more distressful, more horrid, than that of the poor peasant, who finds his labours continually increasing, and fills with groans the short space of his days ? What slavery is not preferable to the eternal struggle against those vile tyrants who continually pillage their huts, by imposing taxes on extreme indigence ? The excess of contempt, with which they are treated, makes them insensible, even to despair ; and, in his deplorable condition, the oppressed, degraded villager, while he ploughs the heavy land, bows down his head, and finds no difference between himself and his ox.

When we see the print of Gargantua, that has a mouth as large as an oven, and swallows at one meal twelve hundred pounds of bread, twenty oxen, a hundred sheep, six hundred fowls, fifteen hundred hares, two thousand quails, a thousand barrels of wine, six thousand peaches, &c. &c. &c, who does not say, " That is the mouth of a King ? "

I observed, that there were guards who preserved the public security, and prevented any one from disturbing the hours of repose. — " You there see," said my guide, " the only sort of soldiers for which we have any occasion ; we have no devouring army to maintain in time of peace. Those mastiffs, which we formerly nourished

nourished, that they might, when commanded, fly upon the stranger, were well nigh devouring the children of the house; but the torch of war, once extinguished, will never more be re-illuminated; the sovereigns of the earth have deigned to hear the voice of Philosophy; connected by the strongest bands, by those of interest, which they have discovered after so many ages of error; reason has taken possession of their minds; they have attentively considered that duty which the health and tranquillity of their people imposes on them; they place their glory in good government, preferring the pleasure of making a small number happy to the frantic ambition of ruling over countries desolated, or filled with ulcerated hearts, to whom the power of a conqueror must for ever be odious. These Kings, by common consent, have fixed bounds to their dominions, and such as Nature herself seems to have assigned, in separating them by seas, by forests, or mountains; they have learned, that a kingdom of but small extent is susceptible of the best form of government, The sages of each nation dictated the general treaty, and it was confirmed by an unanimous voice; that which an age of iron and dirt, that which a man without virtue called the dream of a pedant, has been realised among the most enlightened and discerning of mankind. Those ancient prejudices, not less dangerous, that divided men on account of their belief, are also abolished. We regard all men as our friends and brethren. The Indian and the Chinese are our countrymen, when they once set foot on our ground. We teach our children to regard all mankind as composing one and the same family, assembled under the eye of one common

common father. This manner of thinking must be the best, because it has prevailed with inconceivable rapidity. Excellent works, written by men of sublime genius, have served as so many torches to illumine a thousand others. Men by increasing their knowledge have learned to love and esteem each other. The English, as our nearest neighbours, are become our intimate allies; two generous people no longer hate each other by foolishly espousing the private animosities of their rulers. Our learning and arts unite us in a communication equally advantageous. The English, for example, full of reflection, have improved the French, who abound in levity; and we Frenchmen, have dissipated supprisingly the melancholy humor of the English; thus the mutual exchange has produced a fruitful source of conveniences, of pleasures, and of new ideas, happily received and adopted. It is printing, that, by enlightening mankind, has produced this grand revolution. — I sprung with joy to embrace the man who told me these gladsome tidings! O heaven, I cried with transport, then mankind are at last become worthy of thy regard; they have discovered that their real strength is in their union. I shall die content, since my eyes now behold what they have so ardently desired. How sweet it is, when we abandon life, to be surrounded by happy mortals, that meet each other like brothers; who, after a long voyage, are going to rejoin the Author of their days!

*Memoirs of the Year Two Thousand, Five Hundred.*

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

## CONTINUED.

By OLD HUBERT.

**A**T the Death of Alfred, Edward, his oldest surviving son, took possession of the kingdom.—Edward, though possessed both of abilities and goodness of disposition, is one evidence that a common share of good qualities in a King, is not sufficient to avert the innumerable evils which are too likely to follow from the entrusting an individual with those vast powers, on the proper exercise of which, the peace and prosperity of Nations depend.

Before the advantages produced by *Kingship*, can be expected to preponderate, the sceptre must be swayed by one possessed in an eminent degree of wisdom, mercy,—nay, of all those attributes which are termed divine. Edward, although he, in some measure, emulated the conduct and bravery of his father; yet not possessing a sufficient portion of those attributes of which we have just spoken, was unable to prevent the nation from exhibiting a constant scene of insurrection and invasion, of murder and desolation, during the whole of his reign.

During one part of his reign, his subjects were slaughtered by thousands to determine the important question—Whether they should be governed by him or by his Cousin-german.—Tens of thousands fell, to ascertain, whether their survivors were to be slaves of—a *Saxon* or a *Dane*. After reigning about twenty years, Edward died.

At Edward's death, Athelstan, his natural son assumed the government, thereby excluding the legitimate children, on the score of their too tender

der age. This indeed, he was authorised in doing by the approbation of the greater part of the people, who foolishly imagined that that the office of a king required somewhat more than the wisdom and experience of a child.—Others indeed; superlatively wise, thought all the blessings derived from a crown; might be lost by any interruption to its regular lineal descent: they therefore chose rather to fix it on the head of the legitimate heir; though a child, than on the brow of a bastard, though a man of wisdom and valour. Athelstan however overcame these oppositions, and was enabled to follow the established practice of his ancestors, in sacrificing his people in battle, to shew them that he was resolved that no one else should have the power of calling them his vassals.

This honour was however contended for by a combination of Welch Princes and Danish Pirates headed by Constantine, King of Scotland. The Britons having just chosen their master, were not whoever disposed to be parcelled out afresh to any other: they therefore rallied round their leader, and ratified his election by their brave exertions in a most bloody engagement at Brunsbury in Norfolk; where the combined Ruffians were entirely routed. England after this enjoyed peace during the few remaining years of Athelstan.

At the death of Athelstan, fresh insurrections and fresh slaughters took place, Edmund, his successor, being opposed by the Northumbrians. Nor was it until a few Hecatombs had been sacrificed, that peace was again restored.

Edmund was a prince, whose manners of living shewed, that in return for the distinguished honours of royalty, he conceived it to be just that he should sacrifice the usual delights and enjoyments of Princes, in fact, he refused the temptation  
which

which his situation offered him of indulging with impunity in revels of debauchery and infamy. He disdained to become the abandoned victim of intemperance.—The stigmatized villain, the abandoned strumpet, and the thief of quality sought, in vain, his Society or protection. Nor did Edmund forget the duties he owed to the people as their chief Magistrate, but from the best intentions the most pernicious consequences proceed, Too often do we see the most excellent regulations carried to a most dangerous extreme, and reformation itself ingendering a brood of the most pernicious evils. The mild, juridical institutions of Alfred, had so far ameliorated the manners of his subjects, that theft was almost unknown; trinkets of gold and other valuable articles were suspended in the highwayss, but found no one who would be tempted to transgress the law. Edmund meaning to refine upon this happy state of society, first ordained capital punishments, the penal laws having been hitherto remarkably mild. With this monarch originated that injurious and erroneous principle on which those edicts of superlative cruelty are founded, by which the miserable wretch who is driven by the irresistible power of necessity to invade the property of another, is doomed to die. Cruel Laws! which seem to have been formed by those who think every poor man is, of course, a villain: but, can other laws be expected, when composed in an assembly, filled by those who are chosen by, and selected, from that class of the society, whose distinction consists in an almost exclusive possession of property, and that arrogant contempt of the less favoured of fortune, which so partial a distribution of property can never fail to excite.

Partial

Partial and oppressive Laws! by which the *titled Swindler* is permitted to defraud, and even ruin the industrious tradesman, without the least dread of his deserved punishment; whilst the unhappy victim of misfortune, penury, and want, if driven in the moment of desperation, to supply himself and starving family with food, at no more expence, perhaps of another's property, than he can bear without even inconvenience, the crime is esteemed inexpressible by that unjust and partial code of laws which prepares an incomparably severer punishment for the pilfering of a few shillings, than for the attempt to commit Murder, even when that attempt is aggravated by circumstances, declaring the most savage and barbarous disposition.\*

The

\* A few years since, a Publican in Westminster cut his wife's throat, the Neighbours, hearing the cries of the woman, ran in, but were fearful of approaching the man, as he yet held in his hand the bloody knife, he told them their fears were unnecessary; since he only intended to murder that woman, (his wife) A surgeon being fetched, sewed up the wound; when the blood thirsty wretch darting from those who had held him, endeavoured to tear the wound again open, but in this he was happily prevented, For this atrocious crime, the law had no greater punishment in store than an imprisonment of six months, The man who in the moment of hilarity, told his supposed friend, that he was for "No King, he was for equality." was sentenced to the same punishment, with the addition of exposure on the pillory, and the deprivation of the right of exercising his profession. Mr. T. F. Palmer, for publishing a Paper which his Jury termed a seditious writing, tending to enflame the minds, of the People, is to be transported for seven Years, and Mr. Muir for recommending the perusal of Mr. Paine's works. — For saying the People are not fairly represented, — For ordering *Ca Ira* to be played on a barrel organ, &c. is to be transported for fourteen years, after being confined in irons and set to labour with felons, on board the hulk at Woollwich.

In the political progress of Britain we learn that a workman in London, was apprehended by a Press Gang, his Wife and Child were turned to the door by their Landlord, within a few days after she was delivered of a second child in a garret

The unhappy pilferer is therefore either banished to a barren and noxious desert, or deprived of his existence by a cruel and ignominious death,—May a fair representation of the People soon abolish those atrocious laws, by which the rich appear to be raised in pride and false dignity far above the rest of human beings: whilst the poor are considered as differing only from brutes in being actuated by those inclinations and propensities which disgrace humanity.

How mysterious are the ways of providence! seldom can the most careful observer discover any connection between its punishments and the crime, sometimes, indeed, a gleam of light bursts on the mind, but like the sudden corruscations on the evenings sky, leaves much more to imagine than to ascertain.

Frequently do we view the merciless and wicked end an apparent life of happiness, without a pang; while the benevolent and good, finish, in tortures, a life filled with misery.—Sometimes, indeed, we can hardly avoid imagining, we perceive the heavy inflictive hand of providence dealing an appropriate punishment on the cruel and unjust—

Edmund

garret, on her recovery she was driven to the streets as a common beggar, she went into a shop and endeavoured to carry off a small piece of linen, she was seized, tried, and condemned to be hanged. In her defence she said, that she had lived creditably and happy, till a Press-Gang robbed her of her Husband, and in him of all means to support herself and family; and that in attempting to cloth her new-born infant, she perhaps did wrong, as she did not, at that time know what she did. The Parish Officers and other witnesses bore testimony to the truth of her averment, but all to no purpose she was ordered for Tyburn. *The Hangman dragged her sucking Infant from her breast, when he strained the cord about her neck.*

Sir William Meredith mentioned this assassination in the House of Commons. "Never" said he "was there a fouler murder committed against the law, than that of this woman by the Law."

**Edmund the first institutor of capital punishments for those who had committed the crime of theft, we find perishing under the dagger of a Robber !**

Edmund, was solemnizing, we are told, a festival in Gloucestershire, he observed that Leolf, a notorious robber, whom he had sentenced to banishment, had the boldness to enter the hall where he was dining, and take a seat at one of the tables. The king enraged at this intrusion, ordered him immediately to quit the room; but he refusing to obey, the King flew at him and caught him by the hair. The ruffian, rendered more daring from the necessity of self-defence, drew his dagger and gave the king a desperate wound of which he immediately expired: his people who lamented the event, enjoying only the satisfaction of the murderer's being instantly cut in pieces by the enraged attendants.

**TO BE CONTINUED.**

# POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE;

( NUMBER XI. )

PRICE TWO-PENCE.

— — — — —

WAS it the spirit of Christianity which combined in an unnatural union three of the most POWERFUL SOVEREIGNS IN EUROPE, and induced them to plan and effectuate the dismemberment of POLAND? — We ourselves paid no attention either to Corsica or Poland, — We either had not a disposition, or were not in a condition; We were by some means or other prevented from standing forth the protectors of these two devoted Countries. Other nations may be in a like situation with respect to us; and a few arbitrary Princes of the continent, who look upon their people as BRUTAL property, their kingdoms as PRIVATE ESTATES, their Ministers as stewards, and standing Armies as collectors of their rents, may conspire together to annihilate the LITTLE REMAINING LIBERTY of Europe; and yet preserve a balance of *Despotism* among themselves. — Was it the spirit of christianity which prompted not African but European Princes to TRAFFIC IN BLOOD, to make a profit of the BUTCHERY of their people? Gracious God! whence is it that MAN the noblest of thy terrestrial works, can so far forget the dignity of his nature, and become so deaf to every call of humanity as to MURDER those who never injured him or his country, never gave him or his country occasion of offence?

IBI FAS, UBI PLURIMA MERCES,

I hope it will not be thought indecorous to have spoken thus freely concerning such practices of SOVEREIGN PRINCES as appear to be wholly REPUGNANT to that Gospel, by which, and, BY WHICH ALONE they and we must look for salvation and eternal life. The hour may be at hand to some of us, it cannot be far off from any, when this tremendous truth will be better understood.

Bishop of LANDAFF.

L O N D O N :

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## REFLEXIONS OF A TRUE BRITON.

### C O N T I N U E D.

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**S**LAVERY so far degrades man, that he at length becomes enamoured with it. The History of Peter the First furnishes us with a striking proof of this melancholy fact. The punishment of empaling was still in force in Russia during the reign of that emperor. Nobles of the first rank underwent these horrible tortures by his command; and in the midst of these inexpressible torments, instead of uttering a complaint or murmur against their tyrant, poured forth their fervent prayers for the prosperity of his reign. Some have been known to linger out existence under these excruciating pains for the space of three days; and till the last, were heard to bless the hand of him, who had signed their most barbarous sentence.

Such is the Brutish degeneracy of the slaves of despotism; those of superstition do not display more fatal ignorance and bigotry.

Man has a just claim to our indulgence for any excesses he may have committed; when the object has been to avoid the most cruel of all evils — Slavery. Forget not this immortal truth, ye who pass judgment on the French Revolution! — “It is necessary first to be a *bad* citizen, in order to become a *good* slave!” — Oh! ye Spies, Informers, and Alarmists, you daily confirm the justice of his reflexion,

It is the people (observes Rousseau) who compose the human race; factitious ranks that the voices of society have intruded, are too contemptible for notice.

War

War itself is preferable to slavery.

The plough of the conquered peasant produceth more good to society than the sword of the victorious tyrant.

The attachment of a standing army to a country is similar to that of a hare to the tree, on whose nutritive juice she feeds.

It is unlawful (we are told) to sell sacred things! What is more sacred than the blood of man? Ye *foreign carcase butchers*, how long will ye be suffered to sell man, as dogs and bulls are sold, for fighting?

Locke's *Essay on Government*, written with that simplicity congenial with truth, is immortal; founded on the basis of the *Rights of Man* it can never die. The Rhapsody of Burke, although varnished with all the grand illusion of words, and although the prejudices and passions which he flatters, are still in force, is already descending fast to oblivion. It is easy to foresee that the writings of Thomas Paine, although condemned by the vindictive jealousy and persecution of ministerial rancour, will be received by posterity with the same avidity as those of Locke.

A French General, possessed of millions; fattened with the substance of the people, vehemently exclaimed, when Neckar gave in his plan of Reform, Why innovate? Are we not very well? Alarmists, Placemen, Contractors, and Pensioners, hold similar language. Doubtless a change would be fatal to them; but the poor people, while these bloodsuckers answer their complaints in the same terms as the above Farmer-general used to a poor man who implored his charity, saying, that he was dying with hunger! "Begone, you wretch, you are too happy in being

"being hungry." Humanity, alas! is not the virtue of opulence.

In revolutions, the sage Mably remarks, Enthusiasts are necessary, who in transgressing all bounds, may enable the wise and temperate to attain their ends. Had it not been for the Puritans, whose aim was equally to destroy both Episcopacy and Royalty, the English would never have attained that portion of civil and religious liberty which they enjoy.

The celebrated Mareschal de Richlieu, on his being admitted a member of the French Academy, although he scarcely knew how to write his name, was exasperated, that his associates presumed to entertain opinions of their own, and that they held ranks and titles, in sovereign contempt. "What an odious despotism," exclaimed he, "each man pretends to be my equal?" *There the secret lies, there the evil*, which now arms and leagues all the aristocracies on earth against the people. Aspire to an *equality of rights*, what horrible despotism.

The vigorous and successful resistance that the French now oppose to all Europe coalesced against them, and the immense resources which they display, excite universal astonishment. — One word is sufficient to explain the mystery. *Frenchmen are fighting for themselves: Their enemies are fighting against themselves.*

France will be still far removed from the last of the sacrifices that she is able and ready to yield for *liberty*, when the foreign nations, in war against her, shall have exhausted their resources, and shall have no more sacrifices to offer to their disappointed and furious rulers.

Who is the greatest Revolutionists of the age! The *commanding genius* of Revolution! He who pre-

prevented the establishment of constitutional monarchy in France, and who, by declining all treaty, by refusing to be the mediator between that country and her enemies, for the restoration of peace: and finally by becoming the very *soul* of a coalition which could only have been resisted by the incredible and almost preternatural exertions which the enthusiasm of liberty has called forth, has rendered France a Republic.

A King of Peru was convulsed with laughter on being told, that the Dutch had no King. In a period far distant, when posterity, reading in history, a fact still more extraordinary and ridiculous, shall laugh at the folly and superstition of their Ancestors — That nearly thirty millions of people had once depended on the arbitrary will of *one man*, called a *King*.

The Kings of Monomotapa and of Mexico, assumed titles which we will not apply to *any* other sovereigns. The former stiled themselves, *Great robbers*; the latter, *Drinkers of Blood*. Vide Meunier's manners and customs of different nations.

The Roman emperors were deified even during their lives. Speaking of themselves, they were wont to say, *Our Divinity*. Vide Edicts of Justinian, Honourous, &c. Nero, Domitian, Caligula, &c. certainly were unworthy to be called *men*; and since the Romans had the infamous cowardice to support them, they were right to *make them their Gods*.

It is considered wild and extravagant that Caligula should have made his *Horse Consul*, it is not equally preposterous that Kings should so often appoint *Asses* to be *Ministers*?

The Roman slew himself rather than owe his life to his equal; the Mussulman glories in a

sentence of death, decreed by his Master. The love of liberty, and the stupid degradation of slavery, cannot be carried farther.

“The superfluity of a monarch (says the immortal Milton) would be all sufficient for the wants of a republic.” How does it happen that the *free* government of England is so exceedingly expensive and burthensome?

Corruption had long been the chief spring of the English government. It has lately discovered another spring, quite as *honourable* and *beneficial* as the first—*Espionage*; that is, the trade of *spies and informers*. Can a people thus governed be called free? Can they have morals? They must become what France was—the disgrace of the earth;

Boccalini remarks, “that Spain is to the rest of Europe, what the mouth is to the body—every thing passes through; nothing remains in it.” Might not this comparison be applied to the English nation, which we are told is the richest in the universe? It collects indeed an immense revenue, but who consume it?

The French, and, in imitation of them, the rest of Europe, on the credit of Montesquieu, had supposed the English government to be, what it ought to be, and what is still more astonishing, even in England, at this very hour, Englishmen themselves oppose the authority of this foreign writer to the positive evidence of Mr. Wharton.

A French lawyer ingeniously asserted, “that it was unnecessary to reform the civil law in France, because law suits contributed to the circulation of specie.” Is it for the same *wise* reason, that our legislators refuse to reform the Gothic barbarism of the civil Code in England?

HUMANITY

## HUMANITY OF KINGS.

EMANUEL, father of Victor, King of Sardinia, held his son in aversion, because he was an enemy to war. It was the following circumstance which alienated the affection of Charles from his son. One day after a battle, Charles contemplated the bloody field where Mars had displayed his fury. Thousands of dead men, that covered the plain, excited no emotion in the monarch; he continued his march in silence, when, perceiving some dead horses, he exclaimed, "Poveri Cavalli;" — "Oh! the poor horses." Victor could not contain himself, and betrayed symptoms of surprize, which highly incensed his father. Charles was right: Do men, who voluntarily carry on the dire trade of war, exposing themselves to kill, and be killed, merit compassion? But poor horses are involuntary victims!

It was usual for all the ancient caliphs to learn a trade. It was a resource that they wisely provided for themselves in case of any reverse of fortune. The same caution still prevails at the Court of Constantinople. Would it not be at this day prudent in all despots to learn *button making*, *lock making*, or some other mechanic art?

## ORIGIN OF NOBILITY.

PHILIP VICONTI, Duke of Milan, ennobled the family of one of his courtizans, named Delmaine. The motive signified in the diploma, for inducing him to confer this honour was, "*Ob delectationem corporis nobis prætitam.*" "For the carnal voluptuousness she has afforded unto us:" If other Princes imitated the candour of Viconti, it would be evident that titles of nobility

nobility for the most part, have derived their origin from infamy.

AT the conclusion of a ten years war, says Dr. Johnson, "How are we recompenced for the death of Multitudes, and the expence of Millions, but by contemplating the sudden glories of Paymasters and Agents; of Contractors, and Commissaries, whose Equipages shine like Meteors, and whose Palaces rise like Exhalations."

Mr. M U I R,

*The following Letter has been received by a Gentleman in Cambridge. from Mr. Muir. — He who can read it without emotions of pity and regret must have a heart impervious to the feelings of humanity.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I RECEIVED yours at Edinburgh with the sincerest pleasure; your sentiments and mine are equally accordant, the great lesson we have to learn in this world, is submission and resignation to the will of God. This lesson strikes upon the heart, not by the force of cold and abstracted precept, but by the example of him, who was the object of all sufferings, and the pattern of all perfection. Much need have I to be taught in his school, — Hurlled, as it were in a moment, from some of the most polished societies in Edinburgh and London, into one of the Hulks upon the Thames, where every mouth is opened to blaspheme God, and every hand stretched out to injure a Neighbor, I cannot divest myself of the feelings of nature; I cannot but lament my situation

tion, and where it not for hope of immortality founded upon our common christianity, Alas! I might accuse the father of all Justice and of all Mercy with severity. But blessed be God, every thing in the great system of nature, every thing in the little system of individual man, corresponds with the great dispensations of the gospel, and demonstrates its efficacy.

Much consolation does the reflection now afford me, that in prosperity I always regarded this revelation of heaven with the most profound reverence.

In *solitary* exile there is dignity, there is a conscious pride, which, even independent of Philosophy, may support the mind, but I question much, if any of the illustrious of ancient ages, could have supported an exile similar to mine, surrounded by the veriest outcasts of society, without the aid of the religion and of the example of J E S U S.

I have been separated from Mr. Palmer. He is in the Hulk, I am in a different one. The separation is an act of unnecessary cruelty.

My state of health is poorly. The seeds of a consumption I apprehend, are planted in my Breast. I suffer no acute pain, but daily experience a gradual decay.

Of every thing relating to my future destination, I am utterly ignorant.

Honour me by your correspondence, I am sure it will ameliorate my heart.

*Farewell! my truly worthy and respectable Friend.*

THOMAS MUIR.

*On the Tyranny and Oppression which Mankind  
Live under.*

Mr. JUSTAMOND, in his Philosophical history of Commerce, speaks in the following manner: " Absurd prejudices have perverted human reason, and even stifled that instinct which teaches *Animals* to resist *Oppression* and *Tyranny*. Multitudes of the human race implicitly submit to be a sort of *Vassals* to small numbers of men who oppress them: such is the fatal progress of that original error which *imposture* has either produced, or kept up in the mind of man. May true knowledge revive those *rights* of reasonable beings; which to be *recovered*, want only to be *known*. Ye *Sages* of the earth, *Philosophers* of every nation, it is *yours* alone to make laws, by *pointing them out* to your Country-men: take the glorious resolution to instruct your fellow-creatures, and be assured that it is much easier to propagate *truth* than *error*, Mankind animated by the desire of *Happiness*, to which *you* will point the way, will listen to you with attention. Make those *millions* of *hireling slaves* blush, who are always ready at the command of their Masters to *destroy* their fellow *Citizens*; rouse all the powers of human nature, to oppose this subversion of social laws: teach mankind that *Liberty* is the institution of *God*, *Authority* that of *Man*: expose those *mysterious arts* which hold the world in chains and darkness, and let the people be sensible how far their credulity has been imposed upon; and re-assuming with one accord the use of their faculties, *vindicate* the honour of the human race."

OLD HUBERT, willing to yield what amusement he can to the numerous friends to free inquiry

quiry, who, by their confinement in jails are prevented from learning what is really taking place in the political world, has chosen this compendious mode of conveying the desired information.

\_\_\_\_\_ Making the most of it.  
 The Editor of the gazette Making the best of it.  
 Lord Howe — — — Making nothing of it —  
 but his emoluments.

Lord Chatham, — — Perhaps sleeping.

Mr. Pitt, — — — Certainly trembling.

Lord Thurlow, — — Either swearing or praying.

### The Lord Chancellor,—Planning Campaigns.

**Admiral Lord Hood, — Proposing forms of Government to other Nations.**

The Empress of Russia, Reflecting on a well spent life.

Madam Schw — g — Laying up treasures,—  
but not in heaven.

The King of Prussia, — Fighting and crying.

The Emperor, — — Fighting and begging.

The French Nation, — Fighting, singing, and dancing:

JOHN BULL, — — Fighting and paying.

## The Heads of the City, Eating.

The Heads of the Ministry, — — — Drinking.

Paul le Mesurier, Lord- Fearing God, honouring  
Mayor of London, the King, and —  
serving the Ministry

Sir James Sanderson, — Enjoying the rewards of  
having *guarded the*  
*rights of a free People.*

**John Wilkes, Esq.** Preaching against licentiousness.

## Bishops

|                          |   |   |                      |
|--------------------------|---|---|----------------------|
| Bishops                  | — | — | Feasting.            |
| Curates                  | — | — | Starving.            |
| Mr. Wyndham              | — | — | Syllogising.         |
| Mr. Burke,               | — | — | Raving.              |
| Merchants,               | — | — | Kicking their heels. |
| Shopkeepers,             | — | — | Breaking.            |
| Manufacturers,           | — | — | Enlising.            |
| Sineoure Placemen,       | — | — | Sneering.            |
| Contractors,             | — | — | Hugging themselves.  |
| Pensioners.              | — | — | Laughing.            |
| Titled Villians,         | — | — | Flourishing.         |
| Unfortunate Debtors,     | — | — | Rotting.             |
| Mr. Muir,                | — | — | Dying.               |
| His Judges,              | — | — | Living.              |
| The association of Spies |   |   |                      |
| and Informers,           | — | — | Doing every thing.   |
| The constitutional Soci- |   |   |                      |
| ety.                     | — | — | Doing nothing.       |
| Credit                   | — | — | Declining.           |
| Liberty                  | — | — | Sinking.             |
| Tyranny                  | — | — | Strugling.           |
| The French,              | — | — | Regenerating.        |
| And the English,         | — | — | Degenerating.        |

THE following is the Address, for the Publication of which the Proprietors of the Morning Chronicle were prosecuted and tried the 9th. December, 1793. The Jury after fifteen hours consideration, having returned a Verdict of NOT GUILTY.

*At a Meeting of the Society for Political Information, held at the Talbot Inn, in Derby, July 16th. 1792. the following Address, declaratory of their principles, &c. was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be printed.*

*To the Friends of free Enquiry, and the General Good.*

FELLOW CITIZENS.

**C**LAIMING it as our indefeasible right to associate together, in a peaceable and friendly manner, for the communications of thoughts, the formation of opinions, and to promote the general happiness, we think it unnecessary to offer any apology for inviting you to join us in this manly and benevolent pursuit; the necessity of the inhabitants of every community endeavouring to procure a true knowledge of their rights, their duties, and their interests, will not be denied, except by those who are the slaves of prejudice, or the interested in the continuation of abuses. As men who wish to aspire to the title of Freemen, we totally deny the wisdom and the humanity of the advice—to approach the defects of government with “pious awe and trembling solicitude.” What better doctrine could the Pope, or the Tyrants of Europe desire? We think, therefore that the cause of truth and justice can never be hurt by temperate and honest discussions; and that cause which will not bear such a scrutiny, must be systematically or practically bad. We are sensible that those who are not friends to the general good, have attempted to inflame the public mind with the cry of “Danger,” whenever men have associated for discussing the principles of government; and we have little doubt but such conduct will be pursued in this place; we would, therefore caution every honest man, who has really the welfare of the nation at heart, to avoid being led away by the prostituted clamours of those who live on the sources of corruption. We pity the fears of the timorous, and we are totally unconcerned respecting the false alarms of the venal. — We are in the pursuit of truth, in a peaceable, calm, and unbiassed manner; and wherever we recognise her features, we will embrace her as the companion of happiness, of wisdom, and of peace. This is the mode of our conduct; the reasons for it will be found in the following declaration of our opinions, to the whole of which each member gives his hearty assent.

DECLARATION.

- I. That all true Government is instituted for the General good; is legalized by the general will; and all its actions are, or ought to be, directed for the general happiness and prosperity of all honest citizens.
- II. That we feel too much not to believe, that deep and alarming abuses exist in the British Government, yet we are at the same time  
fully

fully sensible, that our situation is comfortable, compared with that of the people of many European kingdoms ; and that as the times are in some degree moderate, they ought to be free from riot and confusion.

III. Yet we think there is sufficient cause to enquire into the necessity of the payment of seventeen millions of annual taxes, exclusive of poor rates, county rates, expences of collection, &c. &c. by seven millions of people ; we think that these expences may be reduced, without lessening the true dignity of the nation, or the government ; and therefore wish for satisfaction in this important matter.

IV. We view with concern the frequency of Wars. — We are persuaded that the interests of the poor can never be promoted by accession of territory when bought at the expence of labour and blood ; and we must say, in the language of a celebrated author, — “ We, who are only the people, but who pay for wars with our substance and our blood, will not cease to tell Kings, or Governments, “ that to them alone wars are profitable : that the true and just conquests are those which each makes at home, by comforting the peasantry, by promoting agriculture and manufactories : by multiplying men, and the other productions of nature ; that then it is that Kings may call themselves the image of God, whose will is perpetually directed to the creation of new beings. If they continue to make us fight and kill one another, in uniform, we will continue to write and speak, untill nations shall be cured of this folly.” — We are certain our present heavy burthens are owing, in a great measure, to cruel and impolitic wars, and therefore we will do all on our part, as peaceable citizens, who have the good of the community at heart, to enlighten each other, and protest against them.

V. The present state of the representation of the People, calls for the particular attention of every man, who has humanity sufficient to feel for the honour and happiness of his country ; to the defects and corruptions of which we are inclined to attribute unnecessary Wars, &c. &c. We think it a deplorable case when the poor must support a corruption which is calculated to oppress them ; when the labourer must give his money to afford the means of preventing him having a voice in its disposal ; when the lower classes may say. — “ We give you our money, for which we have toiled and sweat, and which would save our families from cold and hunger ; but we think it more hard

hard that there is nobody whom we have delegated, to see that it is not improperly and wickedly spent ; we have none to watch over our interest ; the rich only are represented." — "The form of Government since the Revolution, is in some respects, changed for the worse by the triennial and septennial acts we lost annual Parliaments : besides which, the wholesome provision for obliging Privy Counsellors to subscribe their advice with their names, and against Placemen and Pensioners sitting in Parliament, have been repealed." It is said, that, the voice of the people is the constitutional controul of Parliament, but what is this but saying, that the Representatives are naturally inclined to support wrong measures, and that the people must be constantly assembling to oblige them to do their duty. An equal and uncorrupt representation would, we are persuaded, save us from heavy expences, and deliver us from many oppressions, we will therefore do our duty to procure this reform, which appears to us of the utmost importance.

VI. In short, we see with most lively concern, an army of Placemen, Pensioners, &c. fighting in the cause of corruption and prejudice, and spreading the contagion far and wide ; — a large and highly expensive military establishment, though we have a well regulated militia ; — the increase of all kinds of robberies, riots, executions, &c. though the nation pays taxes equal to the whole land rental of the kingdom, in order to have his property protected and secured ; and is also obliged to enter into separate association against felonious depredations. — A criminal code of laws sanguine and inefficacious : — a civil code so voluminous and mysterious as to puzzle the best understandings ; by which means, justice is denied to the poor, on account of the expence attending the obtaining of it ; — corporations under ministerial of party influence, (swallowing up the importance, and acting against the voice of the people ; — penalties, inflicted on those who accept of offices without conforming to the violation of their consciences and their rights ; the voice of free enquiry drowned in prosecutions and the clamours of the pensioned and interested ; and we view, with the most poignant sorrow, a part of the people deluded by a cry of the Constitution and Church in danger, fighting with the weapons of savages, under the banners of prejudice, against those who have their true interest at heart ; — we see with equal sensibility the present outcry against reform and a cruel proclamation (tending

to

to cramp the liberty of the press, and discredit the true friends of the people) receiving the support of numbers of our countrymen; — we see the continuation of oppressive game laws and destructive monopolies; — we see the education and comfort of the poor neglected, notwithstanding the enormous weight of the poor rates; — we see burthens multiplied — the lower classes sinking into poverty, disgrace, and excess, and the means of these shocking abuses increased for the purposes of revenue; — for the same end, Excise Laws, those badges and sources of oppression; kept up and multiplied. — And when we cast our eyes on a people just formed in a free community, without having had time to grow rich, under a Government by which justice is duly administered, the poor taught and comforted, properly protected, taxes few and easy, and that at an expence as small as that of our pension list — we ask ourselves — “Are we in England? — Have our forefathers fought, and bled, and conquered for liberty? And did not they think that the fruits of their patriotism would be more abundant in peace, plenty, and happiness? — Are we always to stand still or go backwards? — Are our burthens to be as heavy as the most enslaved people? — Is the condition of the poor never to be improved?” Great Britain must have arrived at the highest degree of national happiness and prosperity, and our situation must be too good to be mended, or the present outcry against reforms and improvements is inhuman and criminal. But we hope our condition will be speedily improved, and to obtain so desirable a good is the object of our present Association; an union founded on principles of benevolence and humanity; disclaiming all connection with riot and disorder, but firm in our purpose, and warm in our affections for liberty.

VII. Lastly — We invite the friends of freedom throughout Great Britain to form similar Societies, and to act with unanimity and firmness, till the people be too wise to be imposed upon; and their influence in the government be commensurate with their dignity and importance.

**THEN SHALL WE BE FREE AND HAPPY.**

*By order of the Society,*

**S. EYRE, Chairman.**

# POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE;

( NUMBER XII. )

PRICE TWO-PENCE.

LONG had the Giant form\* on Gallia's plains,  
Inglorious slept, unconscious of his chains;  
Round his large limbs were wound a thousand strings  
By the weak hands of Confessors and Kings;  
O'er his closed eyes a tripple veil was bound.  
And steely rivets lock'd him to the ground;  
While stern BASTILE with iron cage enthralls  
His folded limbs and hems in marble walls.  
—Touch'd by the patriot flame, he rent amazed  
The flimsy bonds, and round and round him gazed,  
Starts up from earth, above the admiring throng,  
Lifts his Colossal form and towers along;  
High o'er his foes his hundred arms he rears,  
Plowshares his swords, and pruning hooks his spears;  
Calls to the good and brave, with voice that rolls  
Like heaven's own thunder round the ecchoing poles;  
Gives to the winds his banner broad unfurl'd,  
And gathers in its shades the living world.

*The Botanic Garden.*

Canto is L. 337.

• Liberty.

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L O N D O N :

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THE following passages of *Dr. Knox's Sermon*, which gave such great offence to the military heroes of *Brighton* and produced so notorious a display of valour and gallantry, having been sadly mutilated in the *True Briton*, *Sun*, and other ministerial Papers, we have taken the liberty to introduce them from the Doctor's narrative of transactions, &c.—A work which we scruple not to say must interest, amuse and delight every friend to freedom, every admirer of classic wit, and every man whose heart is fraught with Philanthropy. The concluding prayer we have also introduced, notwithstanding the danger of incurring the horrid vengeance of a Church & King Mob, for republishing that which is so directly contrary to their mild and pacific principles.

LET it be deemed by Christians a greater honour to pluck one sprig of olive, than to bring home whole loads of laurel, to be welcomed by the cordial salutes of hearts delighted with the blessings of **PEACE RESTORED** than by the forced explosion of ten thousand cannons and the false brilliancy of a venal illumination.

Ye also in the lowest ranks of society, wherever ye are dispersed all over the habitable globe—ye our poor brethren who are *numbered but not named* when ye fall for your respective countries; who, in foreign climes, happily not in our own, are looked upon with sovereign contempt, and even led out by petty despots as butchers of your species, in *any* cause for pay. **PRESERVE AT LEAST YOUR RELIGION**, obey its laws, hope for its comfort, bind it round your hearts, and let neither the artful philosopher by his false refinements, beguile you, nor the haughty oppressor by keeping you in ignorance rob you of this.

this treasure; it is a *pearl of great price*, lock it up in the casket of your bosoms there to remain through life, inviolate. it is your only riches, but it makes you opulent in the midst of poverty, and happy in the midst of woes, which without, it would be hardly tolerable.

If the christian religion in all its purity and in its full force were suffered to prevail universally, the sword of offensive war must be sheathed for ever, and the din of arms would at last be silenced in perpetual peace, Glorious idea!—I might be pardoned if I indulged the feelings of enthusiastic joy, at a prospect so transporting, *Perpetual and universal Peace*—the jubilee of all human nature, pardon my exultation if it be only an illusive prospect, though the vision is fugacious as the purple tints of an evening sky, it is enchanting, it is innocent, it is delightful.—The very thought furnishes a rich banquet for christian benevolence.

But let us pause in our expressions of joy, for when we turn from the fancied elysium to sad reality, to scenes of blood and desolation, we are the more shocked by the dismal contrast. Let us then leave ideal *pictures* and consider a moment the most rational means of promoting as far as in our power, *perpetual and universal peace*. If war be a scourge, as it has been ever called and allowed to be, it must be inflicted for our offences. Then let every one in every rank, the most elevated as well as the most abject, endeavour to propitiate the Deity by innocence of life and obedience to the Divine Law, that the scourge be no longer necessary. Let him add to his prayers his endeavours, that devastation may no more waste the ripe harvest, (while many pine with hunger) burn the peaceful village, level the cottage

tage of the harmless cottager, overturn the Palace and deface the Temple; destroying in its deadly progress the fine productions of art, as well as of nature;—But that the shepherds pipe may warble in the vale where the shrill clarion and the drums dissonance now grate harshly on the ear of humanity; that *peace may be within and without our walls*. and plenteousnes in our cottages as well as our palaces, that we may learn to rejoice in *subduing* ourselves our pride, *whence cometh contention*, and all other malignant passions; rather than in *reducing fair cities to ashes*, and erecting a blood stained streamer in triumph over those who may have fallen indeed, but fallen in defending with bravery even to death their wives and their children, their houses and their altars from the destroying Demons of offensive War.

*The tendency of Aristocracy to increase inequality in the conditions of Mankind, from GODWIN's political Justices.*

THE principle of aristocracy is founded in the extreme inequality of conditions. No man can be a useful member of society, except so far as his talents are employed in a manner conducive to the general advantage. In every society the produce, the means of contributing to the necessities and conveniences of its members, is of certain amount. In every society the bulk at least of its members contribute by their personal exertions to the creation of this produce. What can be more reasonable and just, than that the produce itself should with *some degree of equality* be shared among them? What more injurious than

than the accumulating upon a few, every means of superfluity and luxury, to the total destruction of the ease, and plain, but plentiful subsistence of the many? It may be calculated that the King even of a limited monarchy, receives, as the salary of his office, an income equivalent to the labour of *fifty thousand men*\* taking the average price of labour at one shilling per day. Let us set out in our estimate from this point, and figure to ourselves the shares of his Councillors, his Nobles, the wealthy Commoners by whom the Nobility will be emulated, their kindred and dependents. † *Is it any wonder that in such countries the lower orders of the community are exhausted by all the hardships of penury and immediate fatigue?* ‡ When we see the wealth of a province spread upon the great man's table, can we be surprised that his neighbours have not bread to satiate the cravings of hunger?

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\* This is under rated. The salary of the Kingly office in this Country is proved (*vide Coopers reply to Burkes invective*) to be equal to the labour of 60000 men, supposing they worked Sundays and all.

† Not to enquire at all into the kind of services by which many of the principle *Estates* in the Country have been procured, it is to be remembered that great numbers of the Nobility, &c. have pensions, sinecure places, rates, and impositions on the necessary commodities of life, &c. some of which amount to from 15 to 30000 a year, Whose labour produces the commodities out of which all this is paid?

‡ I am acquainted with individuals who to maintain their families in tolerable decency (i. e. to have a meal of plain meat four or five times a week, and clean coarse cloathing not quite in rags, pursue the most labourous employments 16 or 18 hours a day. Is this a condition for human beings?

Is

Is this a state of human beings that must be considered as the last improvement of political wisdom? In such a state it is impossible that eminent virtue should not be exceedingly rare. The higher and lower classes will be alike corrupted by their unnatural situation. But to pass over the higher class for the present, what can be more evident than the tendency of want to contract the intellectual powers? The situation which the wise man would desire for himself and for those in whose welfare he is interested, would be a situation of alternate labour and relaxation. — labour that should not exhaust the frame, and relaxation that was in no danger to degenerate into indolence. Thus industry and activity would be cherished, the frame preserved in an healthful tone, and the mind accustomed to meditation and reflection. But this would be the situation of the whole human species, if the supply of our wants were equally distributed. Can any system be more worthy of our disapprobation than that which converts nineteen-twentieths of them into beasts of burden, annihilates so much thought, renders impossible so much virtue and extirpates so much happiness?

But it may be alledged, that this argument is foreign to the subject of aristocracy; the inequality of conditions being the inevitable consequence of the institution of property. It is true, that many disadvantages flow out of this institution in its simplest form: but the disadvantages to whatever they amount, are greatly aggravated by the operations of aristocracy. Aristocracy turns the stream of property out of its natural channel, and forwards in the hands of a very few persons. The doctrines of primogeniture and entails, as well

well as the immense volumes of the laws of transfer and inheritance, which have infested every part of Europe, were produced for this express purpose.

At the same time that it has endeavoured to render the acquisition of permanent property difficult, aristocracy has greatly increased the excitements to that acquisition. All men are accustomed to conceive a thirst after distinction and pre-eminence, but they do not all fix upon wealth as the object of this passion, but variously upon skill in any particular art, grace learning, talents, wisdom and virtue. Nor does it appear that these latter objects are pursued by their votaries with less assiduity, than wealth is pursued by those who are anxious to acquire it. Wealth would be still less capable of being mistaken for the universal passion, were it not rendered by political institution, more than by its natural influence, the road to honour and respect.

There is no mistake more thoroughly to be deplored on this subject, than that of persons sitting at their ease, and surrounded with all the conveniences of life, who are apt to exclaim. "*We find things very well as they are.*" and to inveigh bitterly against all projects of reform, as the romance of visionary men, and the declamations of those who are never to be satisfied. *Is it well* that so large a part of the community should be kept in abject penury, rendered stupid with ignorance, and disgustful with vice, perpetuated in nakedness and hunger, goaded to the commission of crimes, and made victims to the merciless laws which the rich have instituted to oppress them. *Is it fediton* to enquire whether this state of things may not be exchanged for a better? *Or can there be any thing more disgraceful to ourselves than to ex-*  
claim

claim "That all is well," merely because we are at our ease, regardless of the misery, degradation and vice that may be occasioned in others.



OLD HUBERT, the poor man's friend, *presents the following paragraph to our readers, considering, that if the account there delivered be true, the exposure and reprobation of such inhuman conduct cannot be too widely spread; if it be false it will the sooner obtain the necessary contradiction.*

Morning Herald, Friday, Dec. 15th. 1793.

A few days since, a poor woman verging on her seventieth year, and suffering under indigence and extreme distress, applied to one of the Overseers of a parish west of Temple Bar, for relief, this officer, regardless of her misery, and perhaps grown callous by the distresses which his business of a Pawnbroker daily exhibits to his view, not only denied her the parish charity, but on her pleading her right, sent her to the workhouse, with orders to have her flogged: the master and beadle more compassionate than their superior, refused to execute this mandate, and in consequence, a drummer was hired, who with his cat o'nine tails inflicted the magisterial sentence on this poor wretch, after which she was confined a few days and then turned out, perhaps to famish in the streets.—The like humane discipline has been exercised on a miserable poor man within these two days.

The

The following *humourous* account of  
**THE ORIGIN OF JACOBINISM,**

Is extracted from the Oracle of December 3d. 1793.

THE DEVIL was the *first Jacobin*, for which he was hurled neck and heels out of heaven.

ADAM and EVE were *Sans Culottes*, consequently *Jacobins*, for which they were kicked out of Paradise.

NOAH, was the next *Jacobin*, for when all the world followed their own noses, *he followed his own Conscience.*

MOSES and ARON, were *Jacobins*, because they *abolished the Slave Trade* in Egypt.

SAMUEL was a *Jacobin*, because when the Israelites demanded a *King* he pulled down thunder from the Clouds and almost frightened them out of their wits.

In the latter ages the **TWELVE FISHERMEN** were terrible *Jacobins*, though they called themselves *Apostles*. — Does not the scriptures say they were *accused of Sedition*?



*Thoughts* ENGLISH and IRISH on the  
**PENSION LIST, &c.**

Tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.

THERE are always *hungry creatures* to be provided for, and such creatures as perhaps do not always do much honour to their *Creators*. From what little insight I have had opportunity to gain into the subject, I do firmly believe that the *meanest and most abject Reptiles* are the most likely to claim the provident attention of — — — (to save the trouble of description) — **REPTILES** like themselves.

COURT

**COURT REPTILES** there are, however, to be provided for on the establishment, whether they be of the higher or lower order: and for such provision new grants must be made.

Good Gentlemen of — — ! Be so good as to close your purse stings — at least not to open them to such *miscreants* as these. — Let your next money-bill contain a virtual abolition of Pensions by taxing them at once to their full annual value.

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*The Petition of the People called Quakers, to the  
K I N G.*

To George the third, King of Great Britain,  
and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

*May it Please the King.*

**T**HY dutiful subjects, the religious society of friends called Quakers, have felt their minds deeply affected with the calamities attendant on War, and the inconsistency thereof with the doctrine of Christ, the prince of peace: We apprehend, that we cannot, at this time, discharge our duty to God, to thee, and to our fellow subjects, many of whose precious lives may be the victims of impending hostilities: without beseeching thee to exert thy constitutional power to prevent a measure which consigns to danger and death thousands of our countrymen, many of whom alas! may be but too little prepared for that solemn event, even in the more gradual way of natural infirmity. The protection and support of kingdoms and of governments are not in the multitude of an host, but in the Lord Almighty, may therefore thy councils seek his protection, by that righteousness which exalts a nation, and by  
con-

continuing to oppose that torrent of vice and immorality which hath long prevailed, and which, Thou, O King, as became a christian ruler, hast long since, lamented, censured, and endeavoured to restrain.

Permit us here, before we close this our earnest and affectionate address, respectfully to mention the cause of our fellow creatures, the Africans. We have petitioned the House of Commons on this affecting subject, and although we desire that the deliberations of Parliament may at all times be free, we are engaged to press it upon thy mind, to consider whether no acceleration of relief can be obtained for that grievously oppressed race, from the influence which a beloved King hath, and ought to have on the minds of his beloved people. — Thus may the blessing of the peace-makers, and of those who love righteousness be thy happy portion and immortal Crown.

*Signed on behalf of the Meeting for sufferings, held in London the 26th. of the 1st, mo. 1793, by Sixty two Friends.*

*The answer given the 8th. 2d. mo. 1793.*

Whatever steps I may feel myself bound to take for the security of my people, I am not the less inclined to judge favourably of the motives which have led you to present this address, and you may depend upon the continuance of my Protection.

RE.

## REFLEXIONS of a TRUE BRITON.

THE Duke of Burgundy, eldest brother of Louis XVI. who died in his thirtieth year, gave an early presage of excessive pride. He felt all the importance of his being, his usual expression was, "*God, the King, and myself.*" The Royal Infant forgot his father, whose rare virtues had really rendered him precious to the French Nation.

Louis XV. sur-named, or rather *nick-named* the the beloved, enquired from one of his huntsmen, who was in the habit of addressing him with a certain degree of freedom, *into the condition of his Hounds and Horses.*" when the other answered, "that they were very well," "Good" said the King, "In that case I will hunt to-morrow." On which the Huntsman bluntly asked, " "*Why don't you enquire into the condition of your people?*" His Majesty was pleased to smile, but made no answer.

Tyrants are no more than the *first* slaves of Tyranny.

The prosperity of unfeeling kings, is in proportion to the miseries of the people.

Most princes aspire to despotism.—There are but few who would not prefer absolute dominion, however precarious or contested, to a limited and constitutional power however well established and undisputed.

That Russian despot Louis XIV. always spoke with envy of the absolute power of the Grand Turk, "That is what I call Empire," (exclaimed he,) "Sire," replied Le Mareschal D'Estrees "During the period that I represented your Majesty at Constantinople, I was witness to four of these Absolute Monarchs being strangled."

Since it is evident, notwithstanding our ministerial

terial manifestoes, that France can never be conquered, but by *Extermination*, would not the coalesced Kings act prudently in pursuing the advice which a *Hetman of Cossacks* gave to the Empress of Russia? "to put to death all the Swedish women, when the Swedes being deprived of the means of begetting children, she would have nothing more to fear from Swedish Wars.

*All Princes are more or less religious*, but alas! how few there be who seem acquainted with true morality, or who practise the useful virtues!

Courtiers tell us "that mankind are grown factious." Yes they conspire against the usurpations of about fifty families.

The purest virtue consists in being *gratuitously* good, so the most execrable monster is he who is *gratuitously* wicked. —like the generality of Kings.

Sophocles speaking of Princes, justly remarks, "Although one may enter a court a FREEMAN one is sure to return a SLAVE."

Priests and Lawyers have always been the instruments employed by sovereigns to cheat and enslave the people. For more than a century, Lawyers have bore the sway. It was a *Jefferies Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench*, who did the bloody business of Charles and James.

TO BE CONTINUED.



### *A brief description of a LIMITED MONARCHY*

*From GODWIN's inquiry concerning Political Justice.*

*Vol. 2, page 450.*

WHICH then is the genuine and uncontroversial scene of a mixed Monarchy. An individual placed

placed at the summit of the edifice, the center and the fountain of honour, and who is *neutral*, or must seem *neutral in the current transactions of his Government*. This is the first lesson of *honour, virtue, and truth*, which mixed monarchy reads to its subjects. Next to the King comes his administration and the tribe of courtiers; men driven by the fate of necessity to be *corrupt, venal, and intriguing*; selected for their trust by the *most ignorant and ill-informed* of their country-men; made *solely accountable* for measures of which *they cannot solely be the Authors*; threatened if dishonest, with the vengeance of an injured people; and if honest with the surer vengeance of their sovereign's displeasure; the rest of the nation, *the subjects at large*. — ! ! !

## P O E T R Y.

### HYMN TO LIBERTY.

**H**AIL ! heaven born fair,  
Who eatest life from misery  
And makes it worth our care ;  
My constant vows are all address'd  
to thee,  
Thou guardian goddess, Liberty

Let other swains  
Carve plaintive sonnets on each  
tree  
Lamenting love sick pains,  
But let my noble verse be ever free  
To sing the charms of Liberty.

Should civil broil,  
Of foreign force to slavery  
Subdue my native soil ;  
My native soil would have no  
charms for me,  
Without thy presence, Liberty.

Birth, titles, wealth,  
The trappings of posterity ;  
Soft peace, nor smiling health,  
Nor love itself, can yield felicity,  
Without the joys of Liberty.

Should she remove  
To Scythia, China, Tartary  
Or 'mongst rude Indians rove,  
To frozen coasts, to burning sands  
I'd fly,  
In search of lovely liberty,

To sultry waste,  
With far more temperate climes  
might vie  
The sun in Scythia with a milder  
sky  
Would smile on thee, sweet Li-  
berty.

Riches

Riches adieu !  
 Instructed by Philosophy  
 I'll freely part with you ;  
 Nor sigh for blessing which the  
 go's deny,  
 Whilst they indulge me Liberty.

INDEPENDENCE.

**H**APPY the Bard, though  
 few such Bards we find)  
 Who'bove controlment, dares to  
 speak his mind,  
 Dares, unabash'd, in ev'ry place  
 appear,  
 And nothing fear, but what he  
 ought to fear,  
 Him fashion cannot tempt, him  
 abject need  
 Cannot compel, him pride cannot  
 mislead  
 To be the slave of greatness, to  
 strike sail,  
 When, sweeping onward with her  
 peacock's tail,  
 Quality in plumage passes by ;  
 He views her with a fix'd con-  
 temptuous eye,  
 And mocks the puppet, keeps his  
 own due state,  
 And is above conversing with the  
 great.  
 Perish those slaves, those minions  
 of the quill,  
 Who have conspir'd to seize that  
 sacred hill  
 Where the nine sisters pour a ge-  
 nuine strain  
 And sink the mountain level with  
 the plain ;  
 Who, with mean, private views,  
 and servile art,  
 No spark of virtue living in their  
 heart,

Have basely turn'd apostates, have  
 debas'd  
 Their dignity office, have dis-  
 grac'd,  
 Like Eli's sons, the altars where  
 they stand,  
 And caus'd their name to sink  
 through all the land ;  
 Have stoop'd to prostitute their  
 pen  
 For the support of great, but guilty  
 men,  
 Have made the Bard, of their own  
 vile accord,  
 Inferior to that thing we call a  
 Lord.

O my poor country . . .  
 With unavailing grief thy wrongs  
 I see,  
 And, for myself not feeling, feel  
 for thee,  
 I grieve, but can't despair — for,  
 lo, at hand  
 Freedom presents a choice, but  
 faithful band  
 Of loyal patriots, men who great-  
 ly dare  
 In such a noble cause, men fit to  
 bear  
 The weight of empires ; fortune,  
 rank, and sense,  
 Virtue and knowledge, leagued  
 with eloquence,  
 March in their ranks ; Freedom  
 from file to file  
 Darts her delightful eye, and with  
 a smile  
 Approves her honest sons, whilst  
 down her cheek,  
 As 'twere by stealth — her heart  
 too full to speak,  
 One tear in silence creeps, — —

SHORT

[ 180 ]  
SHORT QUESTIONS.  
SHORTLY ANSWERED.

**W**HAT are TYRANTS? *Mankind's Curse,*  
*Heaven could hardly send a worse;*

What their COURTS? *the Delegates,*  
*From lowest Hell's infernal States.*

What LAW and its *Administrators?*  
*The Devil's Agents and Abettors;*

PAGEANTRY and STATE? *the very pair,*  
*Whence Misery springs and all our Care.*

Which is the way to make things better?

Abide by TRUTH, and follow NATURE,  
On rules of COMMON SENSE but form your Plan,  
*Then to be blest will be, TO BE A MAN.*

A R E P U B L I C A N.

# POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE ;

(NUMBER XIII.)

---

PRICE TWO-PENCE.

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YE *Mountains* of \*\*\*\*\* , let there be no dew, neither let there be no rain upon you, nor fields of offerings, for there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away.

The beauty of \*\*\*\*\* is slain upon thy *high places*. How are the Mighty fallen ! Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the Streets of Askelon.

Why are thy valiant men swept away ? They stood not, because the Lord did drive them.

He made many to fall, yea, one upon another ; and they said, Arise, and let us go again to *our own people*, and to the *place of our nativity*, from the oppressing sword.

For destruction cometh, it cometh out of the North.

Also her *hired men* were in the midst of her like fatted bullocks ; for they also are turned black, and are fled away together : they did not stand, because the day of their calamity was come upon them, and the time of their visitation.

And all the houses of \*\*\*\*\* , and all the houses of the great men burned he with fire.

Then the City was broken up, and all the men of war fled, and went out of the City by night.

THE BIBLE.

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IT is the curse of Kings to be attended  
By slaves, that take their humour for a warrant,  
To break into the bloody house of life ;  
And, on the winking of authority,  
To understand a law, to know a meaning  
Of dangerous Majesty.

SHAKESPEARE.

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L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR D. I. EATON, No. 74, NEWGATE-STREET,

## CONSIDERATIONS

*Upon the VERDICT, found in the Case of the  
KING versus EATON,*

*On an Indictment for selling the Second Part of the  
“ Rights of Man.”*

TWO Terms having already elapsed, since the singular verdict in the case of the *King v. Eaton*, was returned, without our having any judicial decision of the legal import of the words : This delay, and the opinion of the sages of the law, that, it called for the most serious deliberation and minute investigation, in order to say to what the intention of the Jury amounted, have caused me again, and more particularly, to consider a case which before on slightly viewing it in my mind, I confess I thought liable to little doubt.

The defendant, D. I. EATON, was charged with all proper form and legal solemnity, that he *Unlawfully, Wickedly, Maliciously, and Seditiously*, did publish a scandalous, malicious, and seditious libel, &c. &c. To this he pleaded *Not Guilty*; and the Jury, after some consideration, brought in their Verdict, “ *Guilty* of publishing, but *without any criminal intent*. Having thus done away, in express terms, all criminality of intention, it only remains to consider how far the word *Guilty*, as applied to the publication, can affect him.

This naturally leads us into an enquiry concerning the nature of guilt; of the morality or turpitude of human actions, or what it is that constitutes a crime. In this let us recur to first principles. Let us go back to the source whence all is derived, and we shall be less liable to error. It is in the nature and constitution of man; in the abstract, we are to seek a solution of this question.

Man

Man is an animal endowed with a rational soul, which is lord of the body,\* and commands and receives a prompt obedience to its dictates. When he is considered merely as a physical being, he is subject to all the wants, and obnoxious to all the evils of other animals. It is his soul alone that raises him above them. The one levels him with the brute, the other exalts him to an equality with immortals.†

The most general division of the faculties of the soul or mind, is into *Understanding* and *Will*; or into the power (1st) of judging and deciding between objects in its contemplation, so as to perceive their *similitude* or *dissimilitude*, their *congruity* or *incongruity*, their *cause* or *effect*. Certain of these objects, the mind does but passively contemplate, or, it is satisfied with its simple observation of them. But in other things, the mind having gained a knowledge of them, with their mutual relations and dependencies, it becomes necessary it should be endowed; (2d) with some power, some active principle which should prompt it to seek after those things which the understanding has declared necessary to its happiness. This power or principle, taking it to include all its modifications of Instincts, Inclinations, Passions, is generally termed the Will, and from it alone is derived the morality of human actions. For tho' the mind may contemplate evil, yet without the active principle of the will, there is no guilt: But the moment the mind fully resolves to commit a bad deed, tho' the perpetration of it may be prevented by accidental circumstances, a man becomes in the tribunal of Conscience, nearly,

if

\* *Animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur.* SALL.

† *Alterum nobis cum dis, alteram commune cum bellus est.* IDEM.

if not fully as guilty, as the act itself could have made him. True it is, no human laws can punish him, because no human observation can pierce the breast and examine what passes in the heart. They therefore can take no cognizance of it, [To attempt it would be most atrocious tyranny\*] Its vindication must be left to that *Great Being* "from whom no secret thoughts are hid," and man must remain content to decide in those cases, where the will is carried into action.

On the contrary to this, when an act, having bad consequences, is proved to be defective in will, it exculpates the actor from all criminality. Again, there are certain cases, where the will operates not at all, which are neither praise-worthy nor blameable, there being certain actions incident to man, as a mere animal, totally independent from the will, as to breathe, to grow, &c. and tho' some perform these functions better than others, who ever thought them objects either of praise or blame? And for this reason that the will influences them not.

Upon this sole principle, the concurrence of the will with the act, is founded the definition of crime in all human laws; at least all such as were made for the benefit, and not the oppression† of mankind. It is so in our own system. "All the several pleas and excuses, says Blackstone,

\* The tyrant Dionysius put Marfyas to death, because he dreamed he had cut his (Dionysius's) throat, pretending that he could never have dreamt of it, if he had not thought of it by day.

† We read in the Roman laws a strange number of treasons, and of as strange a sort; such as inadvertently striking the statue of the Emperor with a stone; but it requires no arguments to prove these laws tyrannical. The voice of Nature condemns them.

stone, "which protect the committer of a forbidden act from the punishment otherwise annexed thereto, may be reduced to this single consideration, want or defect of will. An involuntary act as it has no claim to merit, neither can it induce any guilt. The concurrence of the will, when it has its choice to do or avoid the fact in question, being the only thing that renders human actions praiseworthy or blameable. Indeed, to make a complete crime cognizable to human laws, there must be both a will and an act. For tho' in *foro conscientiae*, a fixed design or will to do an unlawful act, is almost as heinous as the commission of it, yet, as no temporal tribunal can search the heart or fathom the intentions of the mind; otherwise than they are demonstrated by outward actions, it therefore cannot punish for what it cannot know. For which reason, in all temporal jurisdictions, an overt act, or some open evidence of an intended crime is necessary, in order to demonstrate the depravity of the will, before the man is liable to punishment; and as a vicious will without a vicious act is no civil crime, so, on the other hand, *an unwarrantable act without a vicious will is no crime at all*, so that to constitute a crime against human laws, there must be first a vicious will, and secondly an unlawful act consequent upon such vicious will."

Let us now observe this doctrine reduced into practice, by a few instances selected from the English code. *First*, Let us examine what constitutes that most atrocious of crimes, Murder, which is described by Sir Edward Coke, to be "when a person of sound memory and discretion killeth any reasonable creature in being, and under the King's peace *with malice aforethought*, either express or implied." Blackstone investi-  
gatea

gates this definition by its several clauses ; upon the words *malice aforethought* he observes, “ this is the grand criterion which now distinguishes murder from other killing, and this *malice aforethought* is not so properly spite and malevolence against the deceased as any evil design in general ; the dictate of a wicked, depraved, and malignant heart.” — What then forms the distinction between murder, manslaughter, and other homicide ? The actions considered abstractedly are all the same. — The premature death of a human being, inflicted by the hand of a fellow creature. Do they not receive their shades, from the *intent* with which they were committed ? From that dictate of the mind which produced and accompanied the deed ? Hence the same abstract act may be innocent in self-defence ; or shadowed with guilt if committed in the heat of blood, or if it be the offspring of a wicked, depraved, and malignant heart, to use the words of the learned judge, it then becomes that black and atrocious crime which human nature must ever view with trembling and horror.

From the person, I now descend to the definition of crimes affecting property. Larceny is the felonious taking and carrying away the personal goods of another. “ It must be a taking,” says Blackstone ; “ this implies the consent of the owner to be wanting.” With all due deference to so great and truly respectable an authority, I must here differ in opinion from the learned author, I am of opinion it is not simply the taking, without the owners permission, that comes up to the definition of larceny, but it must be the *felonious* taking, which constitutes the crime. For I may enter the apartment of a friend, and perhaps without his permission or knowledge take a book  
I find

I find upon his table. Yet surely this would not be larceny, inasmuch as I did it—not *animo furandi*, (with a *furtive intent*). And as I should certainly suppose a jury would hesitate to find it such. — They ought, and undoubtedly would be satisfied of the *felonious intent* before they pronounced the verdict of Guilty.

The next crime that presents itself to my eye is Forgery, which is defined to be “the *fraudulent* making or alteration of a writing, to the prejudice of another man’s right;” here again recurs a reference to the *quo animo*, or with what *intent* the act was committed.

In short, without producing more instances, I think I may venture to assert there can be no case produced in which the *intention* forms not the very *essence* of the crime. Separate an action from the will which produced and directed its force, and you deprive it of every mark which could render it either blameable or praise-worthy. It remains a mere physical fact without any moral characteristic whatever.

If we glance our eye at the indictment in the present case itself, we shall find it accords with the general principles here laid down. And, if it be not illusion, and mere *unmeaning* form, it supports the necessity of a criminal intention on the very face of it to render the crime complete. What does it alledge? That the Defendant published “a seditious libel:”—So, should the book be no libel, the criminality would not attach to him: But this is not all; it further adds, that he did it in contemplation of mischief; “with a “wicked and seditious intent.” If that part be negatived, the charge is also incomplete, and must of course fall. The Jury, in their verdict, having, in unequivocal words, done away all viciousness

ciousness of will, have thereby extracted the very sting of the accusation.

In consequence of the principles here asserted, it follows, that the fact of publication, when considered of itself, is a *nothing*, a subject neither of praise nor blame, but it may become either by the use made of it, in disseminating good principles or disseminating bad ones; or it may remain neuter; when not directed, nor animated by any intention whatever. In the case before us we cannot impute seditious and bad motives to the defendant, for his peers have acquitted him of such; consequently the simple act of publication was in itself innocent.

It evidently follows, therefore, that the verdict we are discussing should be entered up generally, **NOT GUILTY**. If I were asked whether the Jury ought to have returned such general verdict, I do not mean to assert that, They are to return a *special verdict*, if they think proper, which this certainly is in effect, tho' not accurately expressed in terms. If they had said, "*We do find he published the book or libel in question*) it signifies not which it is called) *but not with a criminal intent.*" Then there could have been no difficulty in the subject whatever. Should it be objected to me, that the word Guilty must imply some disapprobation on the part of the Jury, I would reply, it arose solely from the want of correct language in plain and unlettered men. Or I would refer to the practice of the Courts previous to the Libel bill, when Judges told the Jury they had nothing to find but the fact of publication; yet the finding of this fact, they required in the terms of Guilty\* or not Guilty. If therefore, so recently, meant no more than the bare settling of the fact, without relation

\* Vide Lord Mansfield's charge in the case of Woodfall.

relation to the intent. The humane genius of the English law will not now convert it into a weapon against the humble individual who seeks protection under her power.

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ON THE  
IMPRESS OF SEAMEN,

BY THE LATE DR. FRANKLIN,

*In his Notes on Judge Forster's Apology for the impressing of Seamen.*

**I**F the alphabet should say let us all fight for the defence of the whole, that is, equal, and may therefore be just. But if they should say, let A, B, C, and D go out and fight for us, while we stay at home and sleep in whole skins, that is not equal, and therefore cannot be just.

But if, as the Judge supposes, is often the case, the sailor who is pressed and is obliged to serve for the defence of trade at the rate of twenty five shillings a month, could get three pounds fifteen shillings in the merchants service, you take from him fifty shillings a month, and if you have a 100,000 in your service, you rob this honest industrious part of society and their poor families of 250,000. per month, or three millions a year, and, at the same time oblige them to hazard their lives in fighting for the defence of your trade, to the defence of which, all ought indeed to contribute (and sailors among the rest) in proportion to their profits by it; but this three millions is more than their share, if they did not pay with their persons; but when you force that, me thinks you might excuse the other.

But it may be said, to give the King's seamen  
Merchants

Merchants wages, would cost the nation too much, and call for more taxes. The question then will amount to this; whether it be just in a community that the richer part should compel the poorer to fight in defence of them and their properties, for such wages as they think fit to allow, and punish them if they refuse! Our author tells us that it is *legal*. I have not law enough to dispute his authorities, but I cannot persuade myself that it is equitable: I will however own, for the present, that it may be lawful, if necessary, but then I contend that it may be used so as to produce the same good effects *to the public security* without doing so much intolerable injustice as attends the impressing seamen. In order to be better understood I would premise two things; first, that voluntary seamen may be had for the service, if they were sufficiently paid. The proof is, that to serve in the same ship, and incur the same dangers you have no occasion to impress Captains, Lieutenants, second Lieutenants, Midshipmen, Purser, nor many other officers — Why? But that the profits of their places, or the emoluments expected are sufficient inducements! The business then is to find money by impressing, sufficient to make the sailors all volunteers, and this without any fresh burthen upon trade. — The second of my premises is, that if twenty-five shillings a month, with his share of salt beef, pork, and pease pudding be found sufficient for the subsistence of a hard working seaman, it will certainly be so for a sedentary scholar or gentleman. I would then propose to form a treasury, out of which encouragements to seamen should be paid. To fill this treasury I would impress a number of civil officers, who at present have

great

great salaries; oblige them to serve in their respective offices for twenty-five shillings a month, with their shares of mess provisions, and throw the rest of their salaries into the seamen's treasury: If such a press-warrant was given me to execute, the first I would press should be a Recorder of Bristol, or a Mr. Justice Forster, because I might have need of his edifying example to shew how much impressing ought to be borne with, for he would certainly find, that though to be reduced to twenty-five shillings a month might be a *private mischief*, yet that, agreeably to his maxim of law and good policy, it *ought to be borne with patience*, for preventing a national calamity. Then I would press the rest of the judges, and, opening the Red Book, I would press every civil officer of Government from 50l. a year salary up to 50000l. which would throw an immense sum into our treasury; and these gentlemen could not complain, since they would receive twenty-five shillings a month as their rations, and this without being obliged to fight. Lastly I think I would impress  
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*To the Editor of Hog's Wash, &c.*

S I R,  
**B** EING a member of the *Swinish Multitude*, I have fed very largely upon your new treat for me and my brethren; and being, as all hogs should be, (though they seldom are so) very grateful for past favours, I thought the only method I could devise, to prove my gratitude, would be to send you a small piece of food, to be distributed among my brethren, in the *style of despotism*; I therefore inclose you an extract from a genuine and valuable, though not a *political* work;

work; conceiving that it will at all times suffice, as a very good answer to those, who oppose the salutary plan of a Parliamentary Reform.

If, on perusal thereof, you find it worthy of a place in your valuable Miscellany, its insertion will much oblige

Your friend,

PIGMATICUS.

“ AN *infant proposal* has many difficulties to encounter: The *enemies of improvement* oppose it on the ground of innovation: Those who have been long accustomed to a particular method of proceeding, feel an inconvenience in acquiring new modes, and *prejudice* arms them strongly on the part of their ancient habits; nay, even the *friends* of the amendment proposed, are incapable of giving it adequate support, for want of sufficient experience and *credit* with the public, who are generally *jealous* of new propositions, from being so often deluded by *unprincipled impostors and ignorant adventurers*.”

To illustrate the above argument, we need look no farther back than to the different resolutions of the *Society of Reform*, at the Thatch'd House Tavern, in the year 1782; of which a *certain Duke* and a *Right Honourable* (part of the present M----t-y) were then *members*; their avowed object, in the resolution above alluded to, was a *Reform in the representation of the people*, on fair and candid principles—this conduct, compared with their present *opposition to that measure*, is a sufficient *proof* of what is above asserted.

From

*From Burke's Speech, on presenting to the House of Commons, (Feb. 11, 1780,) a Plan, for the better Security of the Independence of Parliaments, and the occasional Reformation of the civil and other Establishments.*

“ **EARLY** reformations are amiable arrangements, with a friend in power; late reformations are terms imposed upon a conquered enemy; early reformations are made in cool blood; late reformations are made under a state of inflammation. In that state of things the people behold in Government nothing that is respectable. They see the abuse, and they will see nothing else. They fall into the temper of a furious populace, provoked at the disorder of a house of ill fame; they never attempt to correct or regulate; they go to work the shortest way—They abate the nuisance; they pull down the house.

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**OLD HUBERT** recommends our republication of the following paper of Dr. Knox; which, as it was published several years since, will be a proof that the Doctor's love of peace has not, as maliciously suggested, been taken up for a moment only, or for any other purpose than to serve the best purposes of humanity.

*On the Folly and Extravagance of War.*

BY THE REV. VICCESSIMUS KNOX, D.D. 1782.

**THE** calamities attendant on the state of war seem to have prevented the mind of man from viewing it in the light of an absurdity and an object of ridicule, as well as pity. But if we  
would

would suppose a superior Being, capable of beholding us miserable mortals, without compassion, there is, I think, very little doubt but the variety of military manouvres and formalities, the pride, pomp, and circumstances of war, and all the ingenious contrivances for the glorious purposes of mutual destruction, which seem to constitute the business of many whole kingdoms, would furnish him with an entertainment like that which is received from the exhibition of a farce or a puppet shew. But, notwithstanding the ridiculousness of all these solemnities, we, alas! are doomed to feel that they are no farce, but the concomitant circumstances of a most woful tragedy.

The causes of war are for most part such as must disgrace an animal pretending to rationality; *two poor mortals*, elevated with the distinction of a *golden bauble* upon their heads, called a *crown*, take offence at each other without any reason, or with the very bad one of wishing for an opportunity of aggrandizing themselves, by making reciprocal depredations. The creatures of the Court, and the leading men of the nation, who are usually under the influence of the Court, resolve (for it is their interest) to support their Royal Master, and are never a loss to invent some colourable pretence for engaging nations in the horrors of war. Taxes the most burthensome are levied, soldiers are collected, so as to leave a paucity of husbandmen; reviews and encampments succeed; and, at last, fifteen or twenty thousand men meet on a plain, and coolly shed each others blood, without the least animosity or the shadow of provocation. The kings, in the mean time, and the grandees, who have employed these innocent victims, to shoot bullets  
at

at each others heads, remain quietly at home, and amuse themselves in the interests of balls, hunting, wherries, and pleasures of every species; with reading at the fire side, and over a cup of chocolate, the dispatches from the army; and the news in the *Extraordinary Gazette*. Old Horace very truly observes, that whatever mad frolicks enter into the heads of kings, it is the common people, that is, the honest artizan and the industrious tribes, in the middle ranks, *unoffended*, and *unoffending*, who chiefly suffer in the evil consequences. If the King of Prussia were not at the head of some of the best troops in the universe, he would be judged more worthy of being tried, convicted, and condemned at the Old Bailey than any shedder of blood, who ever did by a halter. But he is a King; he is a hero; — these names fascinate us, and we enrol the *butcher of mankind* among their benefactors.

( *To be continued.* )

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*Dr. Knox's Concluding Prayer, at Brighton.*

O! THOU GOD of Mercy, grant that the sword may return to its scabbard for ever; that the religion of Jesus Christ may be duly understood, and its benign influence powerfully felt by all kings, princes, rulers, nobles, counsellors, and legislators on the whole earth, that they may all combine in a league of philanthropy, to enforce by reason, and mild persuasion, the law of love, or Christian charity among all mankind, in all climes, and in all sects, consulting, like superior beings, the good of those beneath them — not endeavouring to promote their power and aggrandisement, by force and arms, but building their thrones, and establishing their dominions

dominions on the hearts of their respective people, preserved from the horrors of war by their prudence and clemency, and enjoying, exempt from all unnecessary burthens, the fruits of their own industry — every nation thus blest, permitting all others, under the canopy of heaven, to enjoy the same blessings, uninterrupted, in equal peace and security.

O melt the hard heart of pride and ambition, that it may sympathize with the lowest child of poverty; and grant, O thou God of order, as well as of mercy and love, that we, of this happy constituted nation, may never experience the curse of despotism on one hand, nor on the other the cruel evils of anarchy, that, as our understandings become enlightened by science, our hearts may be softened by humanity; that we may be for ever free, not using our liberty as a cloak for licentiousness; that we may all, in every rank and degree, live together peaceably, in Christian love and Christian hope; and that all nations, which the sun irradiates in his course, united in the bonds of amity, may unite also in the joyful acclamations of the text with heart and voice, and say, **GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST; ON EARTH PEACE; GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN.**

# POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE.

( NUMBER XIV. )

PRICE TWO - PENCE.

**JOSEPH GERALD'S** *Prayer,*

On the forcibly breaking up of the  
**CONVENTION in SCOTLAND.**

**O** THOU Governor of the Universe! we rejoice that at times and in all circumstances we have liberty to approach thy throne, and that we are assured, that no sacrifice is more acceptable to Thee, than that which is made for the relief of the oppressed. In this moment of trial and persecution, we pray that thou wouldest be our Defender, our Counsellor, and our Guide. O be thou a pillar of fire to us, as thou wast to our fathers of old, to enlighten and to direct us; and to our enemies a pillar of cloud, of darkness, and confusion:

Thou art thyself the great patron of Liberty. Thy service is perfect freedom. Prosper, we beseech thee, every endeavour which we make to promote thy cause; for we consider the cause of truth, or every cause which tends to promote the happiness of thy creatures, as *thy* cause.

O thou merciful Father of Mankind, enable us for thy name's sake, to endure persecution with fortitude; and may we believe that all trials and tribulations of life which we endure, shall work together, for good to them that love thee; and grant, that the greater the evil, and the longer it may be continued, the greater good in thy holy and adorable Providence, may be produced therefrom. And this we beg, not for own merits, but through the merits of him, who is hereafter to judge the world in righteousness and mercy.

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## CONNECTION BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS.

*From the Morning Chronicle*

IT has been foretold, that the opposition of the clergy to the French Revolution, would endanger the Catholic religion in France, and the event verifies the prophecy.—It is now predicted, that endeavours will be used to shew, not only that the *Jewish* institutions (as Mr. Paine and others have asserted) are *Republican*, but that the system of our *Saviour* and *his Disciples* is *democratical*; in order that christianity may form no obstacle to the revolution. It will be said upon this occasion, “that the New testament teaches the perfect equality of men and of nations — the folly of titles — of honour, and of ceremonious modes of address—a denunciation of the rich, and a predilection for the poor — the corrupting tendency of commerce — a community of goods, in peculiar circumstances — a simplicity and an austerity of manners — the possible existence of luxury and hypocrisy, in an established clergy — a contempt for worldly wisdom, and the necessity of renovating the human mind; — the certainty with which real wisdom will be esteemed as foolishness by those, who are wise in their generation;—the reproach attached to all Reformers, and especially in the case of Christ, who of all Reformers was the greatest — the unaccountableness of man, except to his own conscience and to his maker — the merit of self devotion, and even of martyrdom, in the cause of others — the necessity of abandoning the dearest family ties, for adequate public objects — the importance of ne-

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ver despairing — the natural attendance of troubles and commotions upon all reforms — the easy revolution of Empires — the nothingness of human grandeur and the humbling of the proud — the possibility of those, who are poor and lowly being made the instrument of the downfall of the great — the abolition of wars — the universal fraternization of mankind — the approach of the millenium, preceded by times as eventful as the present ; and the immortal rewards of those, who are zealous 'till death, in the discharge of their duty.

The present plan of royalty and aristocracy is to prevent reforms, without adverting to the ease with which artful men may reconcile the new politics and christianity, in the minds of the lower orders of the people thus exciting a *double* enthusiasm of liberty and religion, and making a *new* alliance of Church and State, infinitely more powerful than the boasted alliance now existing. The sword never subdues principles: Principles are eternal, because they make part of the nature of man ; and the sword can only be successful occasionally. Fraud will do little in the present state of knowledge. It becomes Princes and the aristocracy, therefore, to consent, that men should be put at their ease, which they can never be, when an universal war is carried on to the universal increase of taxes ; and especially a war which may be thought a war against liberty ; and a war, to confirm the power of the few over the many, When men are at their ease, they are seldom disposed to violent reforms, and moderate reforms will so much contribute to confirm their ease, as again to prevent excess in these reforms.

We may hence observe, that the french were wanting in politics, when they wished to substi-

tute *infidelity* for a religion, which, with a little art, they might so easily have made subservient to their purposes. They wished to build a Chalcedon, when they had a Bizantium before their eyes.

Let us not be equally wanting in politics with the French. If the French Revolution is not to be imitated, on account of its merits, neither is it to be drawn into a warning against other Revolutions, on account of its outrages; for men, whenever they become uneasy, will seek a change thinking that they can obtain their own liberty, abstracted from french cruelty and absurdity. It is then, that a choice of dangers may arise, from infidelity, on one side, which will lessen the influence of the clergy, or from a new sect, of which the people will themselves be the priests and teachers on the other. Thus superstition will be replaced, either by a political or religious enthusiasm. The servile war of Rome, the war of the Peasants in Germany at the time of the reformation, the war of the Jacquelins in France now resumed under the name of liberty and equality, all shew the power of the lower orders, and the influence of religious motives, is seen every where. In Italy, there is a secret love of ancient republicanism; in Germany, and other parts of Europe, there is much religion; and where the form of it is catholic, the translation of the Bible (now unknown from its being only permitted to be read in latin,) will bring many novelties to view. Men of education and of property, and all lovers of quiet, will naturally struggle against the change, and found *their* arguments upon scripture and the natural and civil rights of men; but if an union of religious motives (no matter whether true or untrue) affects the private soldiers

diers of our armies, what then is to become of us ? *Sat sapienti.*

If such is our danger, if a mine like this may be sprang under our feet, the remedy seems to be only in a general peace; and in endeavouring to make the mass of the people *contented*, instead of subjugating them by force, or blinding them by ignorance. Force may last a few years, but it will, on the whole, precipitate the evil, by exciting the passions of men; and it is certain, that the opinions of the mass of every nation must always prevail, whenever they are determined to enforce them.

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*Sketch of the History of England,*

CONTINUED.

By OLD HUBERT.

EDRED, the brother of Edmund, was now placed on the throne. Insurrections and the massacre of the people (circumstances which had constantly accompanied each change of their masters,) are the only embellishments which historians have found to adorn the accession of this prince. But slaughter and bloodshed having filled almost every page of the history of the predecessors of Edred, Historians as if pleased to escape the recital of such horrid relations; or at least to vary the distressing scenes, have dwelt pretty much at length, on the character and conduct of Dunstan, a monk, who so successfully exercised the tyranny of superstition over this monarch and his people, that England was the most deprived of the genuine spirit of christianity, and was on the verge of becoming a papal province

vince, when a quincy deprived Edred of his life,

At the death of Edred, his nephew Edwy, a youth of sixteen, whose disposition promised greater blessings to the people than they had yet known, ascended the throne. But the priests of Rome are too tenacious of power to be easily deprived of it when once they have obtained its possession. Dunstan who had usurped authority over the whole kingdom, in the last reign, spared no pains to secure it in this: but finding the present monarch less confined by the trammels of bigotry than his predecessors, he was under the necessity of redoubling his arts, and seconding them by acts of atrocity and violence. He therefore, to retrieve his character, which was stained by immorality and licentiousness, affected a peculiar austerity of manners; deluding the people with the grossest and most ridiculous romances, whilst at the same time with Otho, Arch Bishop of Canterbury, he was aspiring to obtain an unlimited power. Edwy, who firmly resisted their numerous encroachments, became the object of their implacable resentment, and, consequently, exposed to all those mortifying insults, which episcopal insolence has always at hand to employ against those who dare to oppose their views. The marriage of Edwy with Elgiva, a lovely female of the Royal Race, afforded an opportunity to those ecclesiastical tyrants to exercise their malice and cruelty; Elgiva being unhappily related to Edwy within the degrees of affinity, which by the Canon laws forbade the marriage. On the day of his coronation, Edwystole from the boisterous scenes of festivity in which his nobility were engaged, in the great hall of the palace, and retired to an inner apartment, where, in company with her mother, he enjoyed

enjoyed the more exquisite pleasure of Elgiva's conversation. The malicious Dunstan followed the young king into his retirement; accosted him with the most rancorous reproaches, and dragged him, in a most violent and outrageous manner, out of the apartment. This insult roused the spirit of Edwy, and prompted him to demand immediately an account of the expenditure of the enormous sums with which Dunstan had been entrusted during the former reign. This being refused by the haughty monk, the king deprived him of all his ecclesiastical and civil appointments and ordered his banishment from the kingdom. Otho, actuated by the most implacable resentment at this treatment of Dunstan, and determining on the destruction of Elgiva, immediately pronounced a sentence of divorce between her and Edwy. Not satisfied with this exercise of his episcopal authority, he resolved to wreak his revenge more immediately on the lovely objects, which had innocently been the occasion of the banishment of his fellow tyrant; he, therefore, ordered a party of soldiers to force their way into the palace, and seize upon Elgiva. Having thus obtained his prize, he resolved effectually to prevent the unhappy queen from exercising any future influence on the mind of Edwy, he therefore brandied her in the face with a hot iron, and had her forcibly conveyed into Ireland, decreeing her to suffer there perpetual exile.

Unable to support herself under this separation from her beloved husband, and time and art having removed those marks which had been inflicted for the purpose of depriving her of her beauty, Elgiva, presuming that the malice of her enemies might have been abated by the sufferings she had undergone; returned to England. The unfortunate

fortunate Queen, was however deceived in her calculation on the placability of Romish priests, Otho had her seized, immediately on her return, and most inhumanly murdered; the sinews of her legs were cut asunder, her body shockingly mangled, and in this state the miserable Elgiva was left to expire in the most horrid torments.

It must not be forgotten, that the perpetrator of these horrid deeds was the head of the christian church in Britain, but how different were his actions to the principles conveyed in the sublime lessons of his master. Instead of walking humbly in the paths of peace, we find him committing the most horrid cruelties, and murder, to obtain the accomplishment of his ambitious designs. In fact the lessons of humility and love, which Jesus gave to his first apostles, seem either to have been overlooked, or insolently despised by those who in latter times have directed the affairs of his church, Take, said he to his apostles, no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body what ye shall put on—Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass for you purses, nor script for your journey neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves, for the workman is worthy of his meat.

When men are seen ludicrously decorated with silk and fine linen, lolling in sumptuous carriages ornamented by the vain and pretended science of the herald, or dwelling in palaces and revelling in luxuries, attended by princely establishments of lacqueys and valets. Can those who believe that these were the words of Jesus, believe also, that these are the ministers of his doctrines? Yet have such men not only called themselves so, but presumed to punish, as violaters of the peace, such as from an ardent zeal, for the propagation  
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of the doctrines of their master, have ventured to pray and expound the Scriptures with their neighbours; or have endeavoured to enlighten the ignorant, by engaging their attention to religious addresses in the streets and highways. But, which of these can be said most to resemble the disciples of Christ?

Our Lord himself says, A rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. But is it not sufficient to induce those who are weak in faith to doubt, not only this, but every other assertion in the holy writings, when they behold those men, in whose hands are placed the care of the christian church, and the pilotage of their souls into the harbour of heaven, seeking by all means to procure their advancement to wealth and earthly dignities? When they view them anxiously employed in securing the tithes of mint and rue, and all manner of herbs, will they not fear that they pass over judgment and the love of God? Will they not suspect them to have been bought with a price and to be hirelings who care not for the sheep? Can they view them enjoying all the luxuries and pomp of this life, at the moment they are recommending to their gaping auditors to set their affections on things above, not on things on the earth, without retorting on them, Ye are they who bind heavy burthens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on mens shoulders; but ye yourselves will not move them with one of your fingers. Ye make broad your phylacteries and enlarge the borders of your garments, ye love to go in long cloathing, and love salutations in the market places and the chief seats—and the uppermost rooms at feasts, devouring widows houses and for a pretence making long prayers. Thus may they describe the high  
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and mighty lords of that church, which owes its blessed origin to him who was despised as the humble son of a carpenter, without knowing, for these are texts which the people seldom hear from the pulpit, that our Saviour has passed sentence on such, and has said, "These shall receive damnation."

When we attend to the high-sounding titles, the lofty demeanour, and the extreme uncharitableness of some prelates, and consider that the apostle says, A Bishop must be blameless! as the steward of God, we cannot but hope for their soul's sake, that their sins are those, not of intention, but of ignorance, and that they had forgotten that their despised Lord had said, How can ye believe which receive honour from one another? — Ye call me master and Lord; and ye say well, for so I am. If I then your Lord and master have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one anothers feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done unto you. This plea of ignorance indeed, can be of little avail, except it find forgiveness in being the consequence of their intimate connection and concern with the state; their attention to the welfare of which being such, as renders it impossible for them to refer so often as they ought to the sacred writings of the Apostles. But even their assiduity in enacting statutes, by which the blood of man is poured out, or in supporting the power of princes against the interests of their people, may not be acceptable to him, who blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us and having spoiled principalities and powers, made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it. Much less will the cursing those that err be esteemed a peace.

peace-offering to that all merciful savior, whose apostle says, Out of the same mouth proceedeth not blessing and cursing. My brethren these things ought not to be \*.

That there should exist so great a difference between the manners of the first teachers of christianity and the present heads of the church, may perhaps be accounted for, in near two thousand years having passed since this system was revealed to mankind. But that a system of so sublime a nature, in which the equalization of the rights of mankind, the amelioration of the condition of the poor, the establishing a contempt of riches, and the diffusing of peace and good will on earth among men, should produce the slaughter of millions, can only find a cause in the opposition which ignorant and interested individuals always make to those revolutions which injuriously

\* It must be almost unnecessary to remark that these observations cannot apply to the dignitaries of the present day. Uncharitableness cannot be the crime of modern Bishops—For should they, urged by reasons of State, find themselves under the necessity of vilifying a part of our *protestant Brethren*, as being no more christians than are the pagans and Mahometans, yet will they fully compensate for this, by their indulgent tolerance of the priests of the Romish Church. Thus one Christian Bishop, speaking of the members of the Church of Rome, terms them *members of Christ, children of God, and heirs of the same promise*; and adds, *they are more near and dear to us, in truth, by far, than some of our protestant brethren*. Another protestant Bishop, engaged in the endeavour to exterminate the subverters of Popery and Monarchy in France, most religiously orders all the troops under his command to pay proper respect to THE HOST

Every man of discernment will perceive that this is an age for Revolutions; whilst France is employed in extirpating Popery and Tyranny at the expence of its best blood, England politely receives Ambassadors from the Grand Turk, and his Holiness the Pope.

ly affect their *views of immediate gain*, and to the quixotic ideas of those who think that *opinions* are to be blotted out, only by oceans of blood.

Christianity, which teaches the purest brotherly love, has not been thus far established without hundreds of thousands dying in the field of battle, or perishing under the hands of executioners. The divine system of universal peace traced out by the pencil of truth, was soon soiled by the blood of the Apostles. Monarchs, Nobles, and Priests joined in the rancorous yell against universal benevolence. "Great," said they, "is Diana of the Ephesians! this our craft, the craft by which we have all our wealth, is in danger to be set at naught." Well did the *Craftsmen* of those days know, that with the full establishment of christianity, the imperial dignity would dwindle to naught, the gawdy trappings of Nobility lose their fascinating glare, and the priests no longer possess an almost unbounded power. To protect that craft by which they got their wealth, alarm was excited, and the most cruel punishments that could be invented by the ready ministers of a blood thirsting monarch, were inflicted on those who published, or even embraced the new philosophy.—*To protect their Craft* the bloody banner of tyrants was opposed to the peaceful standard of Jesus: and the murderers of millions were worshipped as divinities, whilst the disciples of peace expired in torments.

Not less horrid have been those massacres which have been employed for the *extirpation of opinions*. In the early days of the christian revolution, the sense, or rather the sound of a syllable was sufficient to disturb the peace of an Empire: and in the war which followed (the first of the religious wars, which have been waged in the name

name, and by the disciples, of the God of Peace) sixty five thousand were exterminated by their fellow Christians. Less than forty years afterwards, in a war undertaken to correct some erroneous opinion respecting the nature of God, "a charge was sounded by the successor of the apostles; the soldiers waded to their knees in blood; and two hundred thousand christians are said to have fallen by the sword."\*—But to return to our dignitaries of the church of Christ. — The revenge and ambition of these monsters not yet being satisfied, they excited an insurrection, headed the rebels, and placed Edgar, the nephew of Edwy on the throne.

\* Gibbons history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire.

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*On the FOLLY and EXTRAVAGANCE of WAR.*

By the Rev. VICESIMUS KNOX, D. D. 1782.

CONTINUED.

**W**HEN one considers the dreadful circumstances that attend even victories, one cannot help being a little shocked at the exultation which they occasion. I have often thought it would be a laughable scene if there were not too much of the melancholy in it, when a circle of eager politicians have met to congratulate each other on a piece of good news just arrived. — Every eye sparkles with delight; every voice is raised in announcing the happy event: and what is the cause of all this joy? and for what are our windows illuminated, bonfires kindled, bells rung, and feasts celebrated? We have had a successful engagement. We have left a thousand of the  
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enemy dead on the field of battle, and only nine hundred of our countrymen. Charming news ! It was a glorious battle ! But before you give loose to your raptures, pause awhile ; and consider, that to every one of these nineteen hundred, life was no less sweet than it is to you ; that to the far greater part of them probably were wives, fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, sisters, brothers and friends, all of whom are at this moment bewailing that event, which occasions your foolish and brutal triumph. The whole time of a war ought to be a time of general mourning, a mourning of the heart, a mourning much more sincere than on the death of one of those princes whose cursed ambition is often the sole cause of war. Indeed, that a whole people should tamely submit to the evils of war, because it is the will of a few vain, selfish, ignorant, though exalted individuals, is an unaccountable phenomenon. But they are led away by a false glory, by their passions, by their vices, they reflect not, and, indeed, if they did reflect, and oppose, what would avail the opposition of unarmed myriads to the mandate of government supported by a standing army ? Many of the European Nations are entirely military ; War is their trade ; and when they have no employment at home, or near it, they blush not to let themselves out to shed any blood, in any cause of the best Paymaster. Ye beasts of the forests, no longer allow that man is your superior, while there is found on the face of the earth such degeneracy.

Morality and religion forbid war in its motives, conduct, and consequences ; but, to rulers and potentates morality and religion usually appear as the inventions of politicians to facilitate subordination. The principal object of crowned heads  
and

and their minions, are the extensions of Empires, the augmentation of a revenue, or the annihilation of their subjects liberty. Their restraints in the pursuit of these objects, are not those of morality and religion; but solely reasons of state and political caution. Plausible words are used, but they are only used to hide the deformity of the real principles. Whenever a war is deemed desirable in an interested view, a specious pretext never yet remained unfound. Morality is as little concerned in the beginning, as in the prosecution of War. The most solemn treaties and engagements are violated by the governing part of the Nation, with no more scruple than oaths and bonds are broken by a cheat and a villain in the walks of private life. Does the difference of rank and situation make any difference in the atrocity of crimes? If any, it renders a thousand times more criminal than that of a thief the villany of them, who by violating every sacred obligation between nation and nation, give rise to miseries and mischiefs most dreadful in their nature; and to which no human power can say, thus far shall ye proceed and no farther. Are not the natural and moral evils of life sufficient, but they must be rendered more acute, more numerous, and more embettered by artificial means; My heart bleeds over those complicated scenes of woe, for which no epithet can be found sufficiently descriptive. Language fails in labouring to express the horrors of war amid private families, who are so unfortunate as to be situated on the seat of it.

But war has always been permitted by Providence. It is indeed, true; but it has only been permitted as the scourge of mankind. Let that spirit and activity be exerted in regulating the  
 morals

moral of a nation, equal to that with which war, and all its apparatus are attended to, and mankind will no longer be scourged, neither will it be necessary to evacuate an empire of its members, for none will be superfluous. Let us according to the advice of a pious Divine of the present age, think less of our fleets and armies, and more of our faith and practice. While we are warriors, with all our pretensions to civilization, We are savages.

# POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE ;

( NUMBER XV. )

PRICE TWO-PENCE.



From ADDISON.

- " O LIBERTY! thou Goddess, heavenly-bright!  
" Profuse of Bliss, and pregnant with delight.  
" Eternal pleasures in thy Presence reign,  
" And smiling *plenty* leads thy wanton Train,  
" Eased of her Load, *Subjection* grows more light,  
" And *Poverty* looks cheerful in thy Sight.  
" Thou mak'st the gloomy Face of Nature gay,  
" Giv'st Beauty to the Sun, 'and Pleasure to the Day."



From Rowe's *Tamerlane*.

- " CHURCHMEN and KINGS are tyrants — proud im-  
" patient,  
" Of ought superior, even of Heaven that made them.  
" Fond of false Glory, of the savage Power  
" Of ruling without reason, oft confounding  
" Just and unjust, by an unbounded will ;  
" By whom Religion, Honour, all the Bands  
" That ought to hold the jarring World in Peace,  
" Are held the Tricks of State, Snares of Princes,  
" To draw their wretched Subjects to Destruction.  
" To waste with Sword and Fire their fruitful Fields;  
" Like some accursed Fiend, who 'scaped from Hell,  
" Poisons the balmy Air, through which he flies."

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L O N D O N :

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## THE INFORMER.

*From the Peripatetic. By Citizen Thelwall.*

IT was in the midst of rural scenery that we were greeted by the drunken salutation of a man, whose appearance sufficiently informed us of his condition in life. He was evidently a labouring mechanic — one of those, you would have concluded, who, whenever a dispute arose between the back and the belly, hesitated not to give a decided preference to the latter. His habit was somewhat ragged, but his cheek was ruddy, and the inspiring tankard glistened in his vacant eye. “Surely,” said Ambulator, “while such objects as these present themselves, we may be induced to be rather sparing in our animadversions on the condition of the labouring poor. Rags and wretchedness may naturally follow where idleness and inebriation lead the way, without any particular reproach to the institutions of society. — “Certainly!” said I, “especially in those virtuous ages when the temptations to idleness and inebriation are never offered by the example of those above; and as the temperate guardians of our laws *never* reel to the Treasury Bench, flushed with the vulgar luxuries of claret and champagne, they are undoubtedly justifiable in dooming to nakedness and *starvation* the plebeian wretches who intoxicate now and then with the costly essences of malt and juniper. Let me not be mistaken; I will never be the advocate for the vices of any order of men: I wish not that they should be without their punishment; and *Nature* has taken sufficient care that they should not be so. But before we admit of so sophisticated a justification of systems and

and oppressions which Reason must condemn, we ought to assure ourselves, with a little more accuracy, of the *frequency of offence* ; since in the thousands of poor people, who are daily presented before us, we may be every now and then meeting with an example of drunkenness, though the inclination or the opportunity should occur but very rarely to any of the respective individuals. You tell me, perhaps, that every labourer, who is clever, industrious, and sober, may live with *comfort*. It is not necessary to observe in reply, that, perhaps, by sobriety, you mean abstinence ; and by industry working sixteen hours in a day ; as every labourer, who has a family, which he wishes decently to provide for, is frequently obliged to do, to the rapid injury of the animal frame, and the total negation of every social enjoyment ; — it is sufficient for me to remind you, that the *comfort*, as you call it thus procured, is attainable only by means of the rareness of such a combination ; and that, if all were clever, sober, and industrious, all could not thus procure it. But let us not forget that the mass of men, in *every rank* of society, have some little deficiency, in some, or all of these qualifications ; and as it is for the mass, and not for a few particular individuals, that laws and social institutions ought to be framed, let us at least admit, that while the *higher* orders, with all these imperfections on their heads, enjoy their *power*, their *luxuries*, and their *splendour* — their *seat in the council* and their *offices of command*, of *emolument*, and *confidence* the *lower* ought certainly, upon the same terms, to be enabled to procure food and raiment."

" Add

"Add to this," said Julian, "*that the profligancy of the poor is the greatest evidence of a vicious government. Manners like water, do not rise, but descend; and if the source be polluted, all must be noxious and foul; or, to adopt a still more explicit illustration, it is impossible for the tree to be good, whose fruit is rank and vicious. Laws and political institutions are the sap that circulates through the branches, and upon them must the morals and tastes (which are the fruit and foilage of society) depend. Besides, the atmosphere of surrounding example becomes corrupted by the contagious vices of exorbitant opulence; and when the individuals, whom we are called upon to obey and reverence are enabled, without merit or exertion, to gratify every inordinate appetite, and every wanton propensity, the temptations of vice and folly become more frequent and importunate, and the principles that should resist them lose their force. Nor must we forget, that as the means of procuring a livelihood become less easy; as the comforts and rational enjoyments of life become more precarious, it seems rational to man to grasp, with greater eagerness, at the present moment, and plunge into the follies that drown reflection. — Bad government, therefore, like every other species of pestilence and national calamity can not fail to be productive of desolute manners."*

While Julian was indulging himself in these reflections, Wentworth had entered into conversation with the object that had given rise to them — "Well, said he, you must have your humour — but you are better off than most of your fellow citizens, I fancy, if you can live, and get drunk into the bargain. How many of your neighbours, think you, at this time, are in want  
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of bread?" — "Why for matter of that," answered he, "master there be enough of them. But what of that — I beant afraid o' that — If so be I should live another year, I shall have a snug matter of an estate, or so, which they can't keep me out of." And so you are tipling away upon the strength of the expectation. Eating the chicken in the shell, my friend, ha! But if war and *economy* go on at this rate, may you not chance to be disappointed, and find that your rates and taxes (as Paddy expresses it) after deducting one-and twenty shillings in the pound from your estate, have left you no other profit to live upon but the loss. What will you do for tipple then? "Why — I must go and hang myself I suppose." "*Yourself*, friend! I should be more afraid you should change some of your present sentiments, and begin to hang the richer rogues, who had been the causes of your misfortunes." "No" said the tipler, "I would lay myself at their feet first to be trampled upon."

"Degenerate rascal!" exclaimed Ambulator, "What must be the slavish stupidity of a nation, when even a drunken individual could express such a sentiment without a blush. Come let us leave the slave. A heart so degenerate is not worth exploring." Wentworth was of a different opinion — "Come, come," said he, "none of your false colours. I am horribly afraid you are no better than a Tom Paine's man; and that you only want to hide it by these violent professions."

The simplest circumstances are often important in developing the human character; and so it happened in the present instance: The for-

tunate railery of Wentworth proved the key that commanded the wards of secrecy, and laid open the despicable sources of the sentiments and vices of the staggering varlet. He had been drinking at the expence of a company of *loyal*, or rather *royal* associators (for it ought to be remembered, that the words, however they have of late been artfully confounded, are so far from being synonymous, that they in some respects stand in direct contradistinction to each other — *loyalty* being, in fact, no other than a virtuous *attachment to laws*, in opposition to the *slavish* principle of *implicit obedience to the arbitrary wills of kings and ministers*) At the expence of these *soi disante loyal associators*, however, he had been reaping the rewards of the *social virtue of treachery* — perhaps of *perjury*: for *informers for reward* are seldom, I am afraid, remarkably conscientious: Bribery, villainous bribery! is the sole stimulus of their conduct; and who, that had advanced already three parts of the way to the devil, would boggle about a step or two to make himself the surer of the promised recompence.

This *virtucus* company (the parish officers, and court expectants of the district) had assembled for the pious purposes of eating a good dinner at the expence of those whom bigotry, or dread of their displeasure, might induce to subscribe to their *anti levelling* association; and of receiving such informations relative to matters of "*sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion; false doctrine, heresy, and schism*;" as "*envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness*;" or a treachery and hypocrisy (two vices, if I recollect rightly, not quite so pointedly declaimed against by the canons of the liturgy) might be stimulated to bring against a certain sect of wicked *heretics* and *atheists*, who,  
are

are, in the present day, no more inclined to acknowledge the *infallibility* of the *Pope of England*, and his *conclave*, than of the *triple crown* and *mitres* assembled in the *Vatican of Rome*. Rewards and promises had spread the infection of hatred to this *impious sect* into the workshop of this unprincipled mechanic; and one of his comrades having ventured, in the course of conversation, to justify his anxiety for the success of the present glorious struggle of the republicans of France, by maintaining, with all his little stock of historical information, that kings and nobles were greater scourges to the earth than the tigers, hyenas, and rattle snakes that infest it, he had seized upon the first opportunity to inform against him as a leveller; dangerous to the government, and hostile to the constitution of his country. Conscience and honour—or even a sense of common security, would it is true, have startled at the idea of charges and condemnations, upon the evidence of extorted conversations and replies to ensnaring questions; but the days of *Caligula* and *Sejanus* have taught another lesson, and the *powers that be* are too much attached to *ancient precedent* to neglect so *imperial* an example. The *betrayers of private conversations* was rewarded, and the *detester of the butchering vices of tyrants* was doomed to persecution and ruin.



## THE OLD PEASANT.

*From the same.*

“ DETESTED villains! — Proud parochial tyrants! — And are these violators of all that endears society, the objects who are to monopolize your generosity, while the oppressed mechanic

chanic groans in your streets unpitied, and the aged and infirm, whose strength has been exhausted in the labours most important to the community, feel the oppressions of want and sorrow accumulated to the infirmities of years, and apply for relief in vain! — How different, my Wentworth! — oh, how different were the appearance, the sentiments, and the fate of the honest unfortunate peasant whom (bending with age, and propping his feeble steps upon his hoe) we met upon Ewelcommon, on a late excursion. — Do you not see him again in fancy — Does not the tear start again into your eye, as he lifts his hat, in humble obeisance, from his hairless forehead, as we approach him. Unmerited complacency! Why was that obeisance paid to us. For aught you know, poor victim! we might have been in the number of your oppressors; and that distinction of appearance, which claimed your reverence, might have entitled us to your execration. But the bruised reed turns not upon its destroyer, but bends beneath the foot that tramples it; else what *proud gentility!* in this insolence of thy oppression, what must be thy instant fate? — Poor old man! at such a time of life to be doomed to wander from place to place for employment, and be doomed to wander in vain! to be repulsed from every door, on account of those infirmities which former toils and former sorrows had brought upon thee; and to have thy appeals for charity retorted by the unfeeling malevolence of that upstart opulence, which in thy better days had crouched to thee for obligations!”

“Your lamentation is interesting,” said Ambulator; “but you forget that here are two of us unacquainted with the story it alludes to.” —

“It

"It is short and simple; but it is not, therefore, the less pathetic. My wife," said he, with a mixed expression of anguish and resignation, "is out of her distresses. Heaven has taken her from her sorrows. I have but *one* to care for — but that is *one too much*. Times go very hard; particularly with us, who are grown old and slow. I have wandered from place to place, and though I am willing to work for less wages, nobody will employ a feeble old man, now there are so many young ones out of other works, who are glad to go into the fields. I have applied to the parish here — for I was an inhabitant, about twenty-five years ago, and lived in a better way I had a little farm, and a few cows, and two or three sheep of my own; till my landlord turned me out, that he might make three or four joining farms into one. So, as I could not afford to take a large farm, I was obliged to sell my stock, and go into another country. The churchwarden as is now, who is grown so proud, and lives so grand, was a poor man then, and owed me seven pounds. — But as it is so long since, I find I cannot demand it; and when I asked him for relief, and told him the times were very hard, he told me he had nothing for me; and that, if times were hard, I must live hard; and so shut the door in my face; I would have asked him else, what we were to do when times are so hard that we cannot live at all? Every thing is very dear — there is no work to be had — and I am too old to go a soldiering, beside, why should we poor folks go and help the rich fight against the poor," — Perhaps, with some, this concluding sentiment may destroy all the compassion excited by his tale; but O! that I had a voice like thunder, to shout the solemn truth in the ears of all  
the

the poor in Europe; that the kings and nobles of the earth might be reduced to the sole option of fighting their own battle, or restoring peace.

*(The Sailor's Widow in our next.)*



## OBSERVATIONS ON THE JURIES AND CRIMINAL TRIALS OF SCOTLAND.

**I**N Scotland there is no Grand Jury. The Lord Advocate, for the time being, an officer appointed by, and removable at the pleasure of Ministry alone, in his own person, is the sole grand jury for all Scotland. He determines whether or not there be foundation for an indictment. There is a Sheriff Depute in all the counties, who is a sort of provincial resident judge, hears and determines causes, and from whom appeals lie to the Court of Session. He must have been an Advocate, regularly entered before the Court of Session. He is appointed to his office by Ministry; and, if he has rendered himself agreeable to them, is generally after a time rewarded with a gown, and made a Lord of Session.—Smith, Sheriff Depute of Perthshire; and Ballie, Sheriff of Renfrewshire were made Lords of Session in October, 1793. The Sheriff, therefore, from his appointment, and from his prospects, must be supposed to be under ministerial influence. Three neighbouring counties generally from what they call an Eyre. Some weeks previous to the Assize the Sheriffs Deputes of these, each of them arbitrarily nominates forty-five persons as proper to serve on the jury. By being so much connected with all ranks of men in their counties, the political sentiments of great numbers are pretty well known to them, and especially

cially in times like the the present, when parties run high, and most people have arraigned themselves on the one side or the other, it is a very easy thing to send a list of *sure men*. Three lists of forty-five each, from the differnt counties are sent by these servants of the crown to another servant of the crown, the crown agent at Edinburgh, who always, *ex officio*, lays them before the Lord Advocate and the Crown lawyers. It is a fact, that these servants of the crown arbitrarily select from these lists of forty-five each, the forty-five jurors who are to serve on the assizes. In the case of Mr. Muir this was done by the Lord Justice Clerk, the first criminal Judge in Scotland.

In this list of forty-five, selected from the one hundred and thirty-five, the better to blind the eyes of the people, they suffer the names of some to stand, who are known friends to the cause of liberty. But lest these should be of any avail to the pannel, other servants of the crown have the last and final nomination of the particular fifteen out of the forty-five who are to sit upon him. The Justiciary Lords, who happen to be on the circuit, or the five who try him at Edinburgh, nominate the fifteen out of the forty-five. Before, however, they do this, it is always understood that they consult with the different sheriffs, which of them are *sure and staunch men*. To these the pannel has no peremptory challenge, as in England. The pannel may indeed make the strongest objections, but these servants of the crown are the only judges of the validity of them; and, in all cases between the crown and the people, are sure to over-rule them.— Mr. Muir objected to his jury, as having been Associators at Goldsmith's hall, in supporting the  
the

the constitution, against what they called Level-  
 lers and Republicans; i. e. promoters of a re-  
 form in parliament; and as having already pre-  
 judged him. by expunging his name from their  
 book. He objected to his jury also, because they  
 had been of those who offered five guineas re-  
 ward to any one who would discover a distributor  
 of Paine's Rights of Man—the very book he  
 was charged in the indictment with circulating.  
 He objected also to a witness, for having said,  
 that he would do all he could to have him hanged.  
 The Justiciary Lords; however, who have the  
 last and final nomination of the fifteen, who sit  
 upon the pannel, could see no validity in any of  
 his objections, and repelled them all.

Thus the people of Scotland are in all political  
 causes mocked with a jury *three times packed*. —  
 Packed in the first instance by a servant of the  
 crown, called the Sheriff Depute; in the second  
 by the crown agent, Lord Advocate or Lord  
 Justice Clerk; and in the third by the Justiciary  
 Lords; who try the cause.

At the Reformation, methinks, a Protestant  
 would have had but a poor chance if tried by a  
 Catholic jury. Political feuds and parties are  
 possibly as high now as religious ones then; and  
 if dependents on the Crown can select and call a  
 jury, merely for their well know zeal to Mi-  
 nistry, and their hatred to every mode of re-  
 form, every friend to the last is precondemned.  
 Their interests and prejudices have already pas-  
 sed sentence upon him. Such a selection of men  
 is not a jury to judge; it is a junto to condemn.  
 Such a jury does not represent the country, and  
 as little gives the sense of the vicinage, as a par-  
 lament chosen by borough mongers the sense of  
 the nation. Yet, our first criminal judge, Mac  
 Queen,

Queen, whom I heard the Lord Advocate declare in open court (and who can doubt such an authority?) to be one of the most respectable characters of the age, assures us, that the Scotch courts of justice are material parts of our happy constitution; the happiest, the best, and the most noble constitution in the world!

Next, or even prior, in consequence to a representation in parliament, is a representation by a jury, fairly and freely chosen. Our honour, our fortune, our liberties, and our lives, all depend upon it. If writing against the measures of a profligate administration be called by the Crown lawyers treason against the King, the packing of a jury, the taking from the subject his only defence and shield, is treason against the Constitution. It is insulting the subject with the forms of freedom, while it oppresses him with the iron rod of despotism. A trial by Star-chamber is far preferable to such a one, as then we are not deceived; we know the worst, and know our remedy.

In fine, with equal fairness to the pannel, and with great saving of his time, money, and vexation, sentence might as well be pronounced before trial as after. It is so in fact. Mr. Palmer's sentence was known a week before it was pronounced. The judges are so sure of a condemnation by *their jury*, that they make no secret of it.

Nor is this the least grievance the subject experiences in the criminal courts of Scotland. — When he is bound hand and foot, and sure of condemnation, to what is he delivered? To the arbitrary punishment of the Justiciary Lords, so desirous of recommending themselves to the Minister. The Minister has too much policy to be  
seen,

seen, or else, with equal advantage to the pannel, might he punish all offences against ministry himself. Their power is dreadful. They may sentence the pannel to the whipping post, to the pillory, to ruinous fines, to imprisonment for any time, to transportation beyond seas for seven, for fourteen years, or even for life — to any punishment short of death! From this, or form any illegality in the proceedings, there is no appeal, as in England. The House of Lords determined last winter, that from the Justiciary Lords no appeal lies to the High Court of Parliament. They are independent of all controul, they are despotic; they may break down all the forms and fences of law, which guard the subject, and he has no redress. The jury may acquit, and they can condemn. The jury may bring in, as in the case of Robertson and Berry, guilty of printing and publishing only (as they did of Berry) and the Lords may condemn, as they did him, to three months; or, as the Lord advocate terms it, everlasting imprisonment. Such a power as this should be in the hands of no man, nor set of men whatever. Why cannot the law determine the penalty for every breach of it? Why must we not know the consequence of our actions, but be liable to be punished like felons, for those we think the most virtuous actions of our lives. Yet this, according to the Justice Clerk, the most respectable character in the age, is a material part of our happy constitution; the happiest, the best, and the most noble constitution in the world!

N. B. Edinburgh being the seat of *Justice*, furnishes only one forty-five, which, in political causes, is always chosen by the servants of the crown.

crown, generally by the Lord Justice Clerk. In common cases the juries are taken by district.

*Morning Chronicle.*



*The following Letter, from Mr. MARGAROT, was received by the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society*

*Edinburgh, Jan. 10, 1794.*

*“ Fellow Citizens,*

*“ I WROTE to you on Tuesday last, informing you of the judgment against Skirving, &c.*

*“ My trial was fixed for yesterday morning ; accordingly about ten o'clock, having Mr. C. Brown, from Sheffield, on one side, and a respectable Edinburgh friend on the other, I proceeded from the Bull Inn to the Court of Justiciary . We had previously ordered a carriage, but none being found, we set out on foot, through an immense croud of Spectators, some encouraging me, others offering up prayers for my success. Having arrived at the near end of the North Bridge, the people having some-how procured a chariot, compelled me, Brown, and two others, to get in ; they took away the horses, and harnessing themselves, drew me, amid (as I was informed) upwards of ten thousand spectators, all well-wishers, into the Parliament close, where we were received with such an universal shout, as exceedingly alarmed the Guilty. Having entered into the Court, and having taken my seat at the bar between two soldiers, with drawn bayonets, the Court having been constituted, the Solicitor apologized to the Judges for the delay, which he said must take place in consequence of the sudden illness of the Lord Advocate ; so sudden*

and indeed, that the Solicitor having depended entirely on the said Lord Advocate, was totally unprepared; but to make it as little inconvenient as possible for the pannel at the Bar, he proposed the adjournment only until Monday next; and your Delegate was then obliged to furnish fresh bail; and, being dismissed, was again compelled, amid the shouts, the blessings, and prayers of the people, to enter a coach, when he was drawn back in the same manner as he went up.

“ At getting out of the carriage, I addressed the croud, thanked them for the countenance they had just given to the cause of Reform; expressed my sincere hope of success in obtaining it; intreated them to shew, by their regular and orderly behaviour, that they were not a *mob*; but the people, acting orderly; and, I exhorted them to disperse immediately, and to return peaceably to their respective occupations. Three loud cheers was the only noise heard after this; and, in the short space of five minutes, looking out at the window, not a single person was to be seen in the street; nor do I here that there was even a single drunken party discovered in Edinburgh.

“ Excuse my short letter; every hour, every instant is employed in the cause of Reform. I had no letter from *you this week*.

“ I remain your faithful Delegate,

“ M. MARGAROT.”

# POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE;

( NUMBER XVI. )

PRICE TWO - PENCE.

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From P O P E's Homer.

Curst be the Minister, and void of right,  
Unworthy property, unworthy light,  
Unfit for *public rule*, or private care,  
That Wretch, that Monster, who delights in War.  
Whose lust is murder, and whose horid joy,  
To conquer Freemen, and their rights destroy.



*On seeing the Names of Nobles, Pensioners, Placemen and their  
'Ladies', to some of the Subscriptions of the Day, for the miti-  
gation of the distresses of the Poor.*

ITS' right you should subscribe for *those*,  
To whom you are the greatest *foes*;  
Who *all their lives*, it is too true,  
Do nothing but *SUBSCRIBE* for you.



## AN EPIGRAM.

*On it's being urged, in reply to Mr. Erskine, on the illegality of  
Mr. Holt's Conviction, that the application for a new Trial  
was "too late."*

POOR Dan, into confinement hurl'd.  
Would prove unjust his fate;  
Such proofs might do in th' other world,  
But *HERE* they come "too late!"

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L O N D O N :

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# LOOK AT HOME!

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*Extract from Buchanan's Travels in the*  
**WESTERN HEBRIDES.**

**A**N attentive perusal of the present volume will naturally give birth to the most serious reflections. In it we discover, that a portion of the inhabitants of this kingdom are entirely cut off from the benefit of the laws by their situation, and deprived of all the claims and all the rights of humanity by their tenure; that their villages resemble the kraals of the Hottentots; that their bondage is but little less grievous than that of the Africans in the West Indies; and that they possess neither the advantages of savage, nor the comforts of civilized nations!

Of the Western *Æbudæ*, those barbarous regions of cruelty, of oppression, and of stripes, in a manner discovered to us by the favours of Mr. Buchanan, we shall here endeavour to give some account.

The chief proprietors of these Islands are lord Macdonald, Mr. Macdonald of Boisdale, Mr. Macdonald of Clanronald, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. Mackenzie of Seaforth. Instead of apportioning out and leasing their extensive estates to farmers, they permit a middle man, denominated the *tacksman*, to intervene between the landlord and the tenant, who lives in great affluence, at the expence of both: this is common in Ireland, as well as here, and is always a sure and certain harbinger of oppression.

Th

The tacksmen who rent from the great proprietors of land, large districts, are able in general, to rank with gentlemen of from two or three hundred to a thousand or upwards a year. They are, for the most part, relations of, families of whom they hold their leases, and many of them half-pay officers in the army. Minsters too of parishes have, for the most part, advantageous leases, of which they make much greater account than of their stipends. There are some of the tacksman who unite the business of grazing and agriculture with that of trade, and oftner of smuggling. There is not, perhaps, any part of the world, where the good things of this life are more unequally distributed. While the *scallag* and sub-tenant are wholly at the mercy of the tacksman, who from a large and advantageous farm, the cheapness of every necessary, and by means of smuggling of every luxury, he rolls in ease and affluence. The wages of a full-grown active maid are generally five shillings sterling a year, and out of these few shilling she must re-pay any damage of tea-cups, or other articles that may suffer through her hands.

The yearly wages of the men servants bear the same proportion with the women's; for there are no day labourers for daily wages here as in other countries—no such thing is ever allowed or encouraged by the oppressors.

Of the unfortunate *scallag*, who at the end of the eighteenth century is in an infinite worse situation than the *villain* in the barbarous ages, here follows a description.

The *scallag*, whether male or female, is a poor being, who for mere subsistence becomes predial slave to another, whether a sub-tenant, a tacksman or a laird, The *scallag* builds his own hut

hut with bows and sods of trees ; and if he is sent from one part of the country to another, he moves off his sticks, and by means of these, forms a new hut in another place. He is, however, in most places encouraged by the possession of the walls of a hut, which he covers in the best way he can with his old sticks, stubble and fern. Five days in the week he works for the master, the sixth he is allowed to himself for the cultivation of some scrap of land, on the edge of some moss or moor : on which he raises a little kail or cole wort, barley, and potatoes. These articles boiled up together in one mash, and often without salt are his only food ; except in those seasons and days when he can catch some fish, which he is obliged not unfrequently to eat without bread or salt. The only bread he tastes is a cake made of the flour of barley. He is allowed coarse shoes with tartan hose, and a coarse coat with a blanket or two for cloathing. It may occur to an English reader, that, as the scallag works only five days out of seven to his master, he has two to provide for himself. But it is to be recollected that throughout the whole of Scotland, and all its appendages, as well as in the opposite countries of Iceland to the north, and Norway and Denmark to the east, Sunday, or the sabbath as it is called in all those countries, is celebrated by a total cessation from all labour, and all amusements too, as well as by religious exercises.'

In the following comparison between the Celtic slave of the Western Hebrides, and the African slave in the West-Indies, the author is far too favourable in respects to the situation of the latter whom he has probably never seen ; but we are disposed to give every degree of credit to the miserable condition of the former, whose lot he so frequently and feelingly laments.

P. 195, First, then, with regard to the respective conditions of their life, in general, it is none of their own chusing. The African, when he is not sold on account of some crime, is bereft of his freedom and forced in slavery by fraud and violence. The Hebridean slave is neither indeed, trepanned into slavery by guile, nor compelled by physical compulsion; but he is drawn into it by a moral necessity, equally invincible; by a train of circumstances which are beyond his power to control; and leave him no option, but either to serve some master as a scallag, or often to protract a miserable existence for some time in the forests, and near the uninhabited sea shores, where he may pick up some shell-fish, to perish with his wife, perhaps, and little ones, through cold and hunger.

Second, with regard to labour. The negro works only from six o'clock in the morning to six\* o'clock in the evening; and out of that time he has two complete hours for rest and refreshment. The scallag is at work from four o'clock in the morning, to eight, nine, and sometimes ten in the evening.

Third, with regard to food. The negro has a plentiful allowance of such common fare as is sufficient to nourish him; besides his little property in land, or *peculium*, which he cultivates for himself, on the evenings after he has done his master's work; and on sundays and other holidays. The scallag is fed only twice a day, when at hard labour for his master, with water gruel, or as they call it *brochan*, or kail, or coleworts; with the addition of a barley-cake, or potatoes;  
and

\* Mr. Buchanan does not seem to know that the negro is also obliged to labour during a large portion of the night in crop time.

and all this without salt. But, for his family, and for himself on Sundays, or when unable to work through bodily indisposition, he has no other means of subsistence than what he can raise for himself by the labour of one day out of seven, from a scanty portion of cold and moorish soil; barley, potatoes, coleworts, and a milch cow, or a couple of ewes, perhaps for giving milk to his infants: though it often happens that he is obliged to kill these household gods, as it were in order to prevent his family from starving. At certain seasons, he has fish in abundance; but this he is, for the most part obliged to eat without bread, and often without salt. The negro, if he be tolerably industrious, can afford, on Saturdays and other holidays, to treat himself with pepper-pot, a pig, or a turkey, and a can of grog. Nay, many a negro, I am well assured, has been known to clear, besides many comforts for his own family, by the produce of his little property, from twenty to thirty, and even forty pounds a year: so that there is a fair probability, that any negro would soon be enabled to gain the price of his liberty, if he desired or deserved it\*. Of relief from bondage and woe, the scallag has not a single ray of hope on this side of the grave.

Fifth, with regard to lodging and cloathing. The negro is comfortably lodged and fed in a warm climate; the scallag is very poorly clothed, and still more wretchedly lodged, in a cold one. And as the negro is provided by his master with bedding and body cloaths, so he is also furnished by him with the implements of husbandry. The scallag, with sticks and sods, rears his own hut; procures for himself a few rags, either by what little

\* This very flattering account must have been suggested to the reverend missionary by some persons interested in the slave trade.

little flax or wool he can raise, or by the refuse of coarser parts of these articles furnished by his master; and provides his own working tools, as the spade, called *cass direach*, the *cass cbrom*, &c.

Sixth, with regard to usage or treatment. The slave is driven on to labour by stripes, so also is the scallag, who is even, as we have seen, formally tied up, on some occasions, as well as the negro, to a stake, and scourged on his bare back. The owner of the slave, it may farther be observed, has a strong interest in his welfare; for if he should become sick or infirm, he must maintain him; or if he should die, he must supply his place at a considerable expence. There is no such restraint on the peevish humours or angry passions of an Hebridean laird or tacksman. The scallag, under infirmity, disease and old age, is set adrift on the wide world, and begs from door to door, and from island to island. Nor is it necessary, in order to supply the place of a scallag, to be at any expence: for the frequent failure of sub-tenants, affords but too many recruits to the wretched order of scallags.

Seventhly, and lastly. As there is nothing so natural as the love of liberty, and an aversion to restraint and oppression, the scallag, as well as the negro, sometimes attempts emancipation, by fleeing to the uninhabited parts of the country; though such attempts are not so often made by the scallags after they are inured to slavery, as when they feel themselves on the verge of sinking into that dreadful and execrated state of existence.

The condition of the sub-tenant is but a degree removed from that of the scallag. He is subjected by his tenure to the degrading servitude of manerial bondage; he is obliged to give up a certain

certain portion of his time to the tacksman; to shear his sheep, tan his leather, dig his peat or turf for fuel, and even to nurse his children.

Though the tacksmen, for the most part enjoy their leases of whole districts on the most liberal terms, their exactions from the sub-tenants are in general most severe. They grant them their possessions only from year to year: and lest they should forget their dependent condition, they are every year at a certain term, with the most regular formality, warned to quit their tenements and go out of the bond of the leasehold estate. The sub tenant, by what presents he can command, or by humble supplications, endeavours to work on the mind of the tacksman, and, on any condition he pleases to impose, to retain a home for himself, his wife, and children; for he has no other resource. And here I am to disclose to the English nation, as well I hope as the greatest part of the Scotch, and to the whole world, a matter of fact, which cannot fail to excite a very general sympathy and concern for a sober, harmless, and much injured people. It is an invariable custom, and established by a kind of tacit compact among the tacksmen and inferior lairds, to refuse with the most invincible obduracy an asylum on their ground to any sub-tenant, without the recommendation of his landlord: or as he is very properly called his master\*

The

\* So inveterate are the remains of feudal slavery in Scotland, that master is for the most part the term used for landlord. Mr. Kemp, a minister, in a sermon preached before the society for propagating Christian knowledge, at their anniversary meeting in the high church of Edinburgh, June 5, 1788, on the subject of the character of the late earl of Kinnoul, calls him, in relation to his tenants, their master. It was impossible for the Scotch orator to divest himself of the idea, that even the good and generous Kinnoul was not  
the

The wretched outcast therefore has no alternative but to sink down into the situation and rank of an unfortunate and numerous class of men, known under the name of scallags.

In this account of a large body of our miserable and oppressed fellow citizens, Mr. B. discloses a tale of woe, calculated in no common degree to interest the feelings of every Briton; and we trust that some step will speedily be adopted by the legislature, (we expect but little from the humanity of the hard hearted landlords!) to relieve the inhabitants of the Western Hebrides, from a worse than egyptian thralldom.

## THE SAILORS' S WIDOW.

*From the Peripittetac.*

"YOUR anecdote of the generous churchwarden," said Ambulator, "brings to my mind an incident, so much to the honour of a benevolent old lady of your acquaintance, that I cannot resist the temptation of relating it. Besides, in a country where such immense sums of money are levied upon *one part* of the oppressed community, under pretence of relieving the distresses of *another* (for it is not the *rich*, but the *poor*, who support the poor of this country) and at a time when poor fellows are weeded into the naval service by such pompous pretences of provisions for their wives and families, it is important to shew what kind of relief is afforded to the wants of those who seem most entitled to our compassion.

"Philanthropa

the landlord but the master of his tenants, in the very sentence in which he considers us "free born Britons." See Kemp's sermons and Facts, p. 117."

“Philanthropa was walking, some little time ago, through one of the principal streets of London, turning to the right and to the left for the most proper objects to exercise her compassion (and God knows, in the present state of society, there are few places where we need search in vain,) when the downcast look, the melancholy silence, and modest obeisance of a poor neat-looking pregnant woman, with a child in her arms, and another hanging on her hand, attracted her attention. Want and emaciation were written in her countenance; and the whole group was so interesting, that Philanthropa, who is little in the habit of resisting these impressions, immediately stopped, and enquired into the story of their distress.

The poor husband was a weaver, but that as he had been to sea in the former part of his life, he had been pressed at the breaking out of the war, and had left her no other means to support her two infants, and provide for the season of pain and perplexity that was approaching, but the labour of her own hands; “and, alas!” said she, “what can I do, in my present situation, with my two babes to take care of into the bargain? I endeavoured to get a little washing to do at home: but there are so many poor women who wish to get a bit of bread this way, that there is but little bit indeed of each for us. In this distress I applied to the overseers of the parish; but they only gave me a *spilling*, and bade me call again in a fortnight, and I should have *another*.” Such was the tale of the poor creature whom these *British Slave merchants*, these *wholesale dealers in their brethrens blood*, had left to rot in the cold embraces of Want and Misery, that the stay and comfort of her life, the father  
and

and protector of her infants, might lavish his limbs and life for them in a struggle, in which (to say the least of it) neither he nor his family, had the slightest interest or concern : and, alas ! how many thousands are there at this time languishing for the same cause, in situations of equal misery. The story was too circumstantial to be doubted ; and Philanthropa, putting a half crown into her hand, hurried away to avoid that profusion of gratitude, which how pleasing-soever it may be to the mere spectator, is always painful to the ear of the truly generous benefactor.

“ I identify the sum, to shew at how small an expence we may sometimes be enabled to rescue, not an individual only, but a whole family, from distress : for as Philanthropa was some little time after coming out from a tradesmen’s shop, in another part of the town, she was greeted by the grateful ejaculation of a woman, whose hands were loaded with a quantity of earthenware—“ ‘ God bless you, madam,’ said she, ‘ for you have been the making of me and my poor family !—you saved us from starving. —“ Indeed, poor woman,” was the reply, “ I fancy you are mistaken ; for I do not recollect you.” —“ Alas ! madam,” replied the woman, “ do you not remember giving me a half crown in Cornhill.” —The benefactress looked again in her face, and recollected her. Nor was she suffered to remain long in ignorance about the manner in which so small a sum had produced so extensive an effect. The poor creature had gone immediately with her little capital, and laid it out in pitchers, and other utensils of that kind ; and as she had been fortunate in selling them again quickly, at a small profit, she had contrived, by excellent œconomy, to keep her  
stock

stock in a constant way of increase, till she had become a kind of little shopkeeper, and had the happiness of seeing her prospect brightening, in some degree, before her.

I have given these stories simple and undorned, as incidents that serve to display the situation of the country; and the tendency of existing institutions ought to be delivered; and I leave it to the lovers of war,—of bloodshed, and aristocracy (crying out, as they constantly are, about the grandeur and happiness of the country) to draw from them what inferences they think fit."



*Extract from a speech of Mr. Wilkes, at the meeting of Parliament in 1775.*

*Crisis.*—I entirely agree, that every man ought now to speak out; and in a moment so important as the present to the whole empire, I think it ill becomes the dignity and duty of Parliament, to lose itself in a fulsome and adulatory address to the throne; we ought rather, Sir, to approach our Sovereign with remonstrances against the conduct of his ministers, who have precipitated the nation into an unjust, ruinous, felonious and murderous war.

"I call it an unjust, felonious war, because the primary and confessed origin of it is contrary to the common rights of all mankind, and those great fundamental principles of the English Constitution for which *Hampden* bled. I assert, Sir, that it is in consequence a murderous war, because it is an attempt to deprive men of their lives, for standing up in the just cause, of the  
defence

defence of their property, and clear rights. It becomes no less a murderous war, with respect to many of our fellow subjects of this island; for every man, either of the navy or army, who has been sent by government, to——, and has fallen a victim in this unnatural and unjust contest has been murdered by the administration, and his blood lies at their door. Such a war, I fear, Sir, will draw the vengeance of heaven upon this devoted kingdom.”

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### ANECDOTE OF LORD SCARBOROUGH.

AT that memorable period, when the introduction of Sir *Robert Walpole's* Excise Bill so irritated the Public mind, immense crowds assembled round the House of Parliament, and threatened insult to the persons of the unpopular Ministry, the incensed Monarch (*George II.*) could not conceal his indignation at such conduct, and determined to put himself at the head of the troops to disperse the lawless banditti. On his Ministers remonstrating, he sent for Lord *Scarborough*, who was then high in Military rank, and desired him to hold his men in readiness. “Sire,” answered the Patriotic Lord, “I can answer for the conduct of my Regiments against the Pretender; but I know not how it may act, if drawn out against the Citizens of London!”

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*To the Editor of Politics for the People.*

I AM one of those unfortunate men who were persuaded last winter to apprehend every evil from the *Swedish Multitude*; in consequence of this we became suddenly gregarious ourselves

ourselves, and collected into large *berds*, to which we gave the title of *Association*. Thank God, I have now pretty well recovered my former spirits, like a midnight traveller, who having been terror struck with the rustling of leaves or the waving of shadows, at the approach of light begins to wonder at his own weakness, and to despise the trifles that alarmed him.—You know, Sir, it is the natural effect of terror to deprive men of the power of judging; and as long as I was under the influence of this contemptible passion, I ran to Committee Rooms, signed Declarations, seconded Resolutions, swallowed Bumpers, and subscribed Addresses, and all in such haste and perturbation of spirits, that I know not to this day whether I may not have put my name to a deed of conveyance, or an abjuration of the Christian faith. However, I was told it was all on the *right* side, and that we were by these acts of confusion, nevertheless, preserving Monarchy, and Property, and Priesthood, *Liberty*, *Equality*, and the *Rights of Man*; these were sounding words, and I never once thought about examining their *real* meaning.

My fears now gradually subsided; in a little time longer, I found they had the mortification to discover, for what unworthy, and I may add, unconstitutional purposes, myself and many thousands of my good honest countrymen had been thrown into this state of helplessness and *alarm*.

I wish well to our excellent constitution, and the king, in as much as he is part of it; but it would be disimulation in me to say, I have an equal affection for his majesty's ministers, who I strongly suspect have been at the bottom of this business, frightening credulous good sort of men with

with strange impossible stories, as the best foundation they could lay for the present most ruinous dishonourable, and unfortunate war. My reason for this suspicion is the following—Ministers, when *dared* to prove the existence of plots and insurrections, &c. &c. were never able to substantiate any one circumstance; in short, they did nothing but call for *confidence* when they ought to have produced *solid undeniable proofs*, I need not say what an indignity they have thus offered to the sense and honesty of the nation, by claiming their belief without giving some evidence in exchange. When our holy religion was first propagated, the blessed Author, of it, and his apostles, called constantly upon the people to put faith in them, but then they *first of all* produced *proofs* that what they preached was *true*.

In short, I have been most grossly deceived, and if my having attended these aforesaid meetings, has made me accessary (which I fear it has) to the bloody scenes now acting upon the Continent, I beg forgiveness of God and my country with contrition, and shall ever repent the day when I was induced to become an

ASSOCIATOR.

P. S. I am now reading our English annals; with a view to compile a complete history of ministerials plots and insurrections, their several kinds and uses, as well ecclesiastical as civil. The work to be dedicated to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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## O N W A R.

WHO is that preverse, and ever execrable man who first invented the murderous art of war,  
and

and that famous science of tactics, which consists in the best means of massacring whole nations? One creature may assassinate another in a moment of passion, and, however barbarous this act really is, and however much it may be repugnant to the sensibility of a good man, yet he can conceive it: but for two men in cold blood to think of assassinating one another, or thousands of men of assassinating other thousands, with whom they are utterly unconnected, and can have no quarrel or even difference with; of this he can form no idea.

‘O shame to the human species! Nations blind, and asleep, will you never awake? What! shall not an individual whom you have placed upon the throne, and whom you have overwhelmed with your bounties, be satisfied with consuming the fruit of your sweat and of your toils, in the bosom of indolence and voluptuousness, and with laying your industry and your fortune under contribution. And shall he wish to dispose of your very existence? must you be the instruments of his anger and his vengeance, of his ambition and his mad desires?

‘He wishes to conquer a province, that is to say, to usurp the dominion over a country, and pillage the inhabitants; and it is to assist this audacious robbery, of which you will enjoy no lucrative portion, that you are about to desolate the territories of a people who never offended you, to burn their villiages, and to spread death and desolation over their fields; while in this attempt you expose yourselves to excessive fatigues, to continual privations, and even, to death itself, or, what is still worse, to wounds, which but prolong a miserable existence.

*End of the first Part.*

# Politics for the People.

## PART II.

### NUMBER I.

Price Two-pence.

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1794.

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## ADDRESS to the PUBLIC.

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D. I. EATON

RETURNS his most grateful acknowledgments to a generous Public, for the liberal and uncommonly flattering support which he has experienced during the long period of a rigorous and cruel persecution, unrelentingly carried on against him, for having done what he is convinced was his duty—his duty to his country, as a patriotic bookseller.

Notwithstanding the enormous expence, and very great inconvenience, which has necessarily attended the defence of THREE ACTIONS commenced against him, and pursued in the most unconstitutional manner, he assures the Public, that he is still determined to persevere in supporting the little remaining liberty of the press, and maintaining the right of free discussion, as far as his abilities and influence extend. So long as the liberal, patriotic, and enlightened advocates of the political and religious rights

rights of mankind employ their talents in the discussion of these momentous subjects, and honour him with their communications, the Politics for the People shall be open to their reception.

The original intention of this work was to offer an asylum to the Public for such original and valuable pieces, on the subject of Government in general, as were not of sufficient bulk to form a volume of themselves, but yet of consequence to be preserved from the usual fate of detached essays. It was intended, by this means, to form such a valuable collection of original productions, and occasional extracts as would serve to convey general information on the most interesting subjects, to all classes of the community; to those whose leisure would not permit them to peruse, and to those whose finances would not permit them to purchase, more voluminous and expensive publications.

How far the publisher has succeeded in these objects, remains not with him to determine; but might he presume to judge of the public approbation, from the extensive sale of this periodical publication, he trusts his efforts to make the POLITICS for the PEOPLE worthy of general regard, have not been altogether in vain.

D. I. Eaton respectfully announces to his numerous readers, that the Politics for the People will, in future, be printed in a style better calculated to contain a greater variety of original matter.

Newgate, Jan. 30, 1794.

T H E  
TRIUMPH OF REASON.  
A NEW SONG.

**I**N these difast'rous dismal days of riot, law, and libel,  
When men almost suspect the right they have to read the Bible,  
I'll venture here to sing the truth, may you approve the strain,  
And as the way to please you most, I'll strive to give you PAINÉ.

There was a man whose name was PAINÉ, a man of *Common Sense*,  
Who came from Philadelphia here, his knowledge to dispense;  
He prov'd that man had equal rights, as equal sons of nature,  
Deriv'd by universal grant, from *Heaven's Legislator*.

He taught, that on the people's will all lawful pow'r depended,  
That governors were for the good of th' governed intended:  
And many other wholesome truths, all form'd on reason's plan,  
He wrote within a little book, and call'd it RIGHTS OF MAN.

The nation soon approv'd the book, they read and understood it.  
But certain *rogues*, whom I name not, with jealous aspect view'd it;  
And many a *courtly sycophant* its page with terror traces,  
For if each man should have his right, the *knaves* would lose their places.

Then BILLY PITT he rais'd a cry, a cry of consternation,  
Which rous'd the *roguish* and the *weak* throughout the British  
nation,  
That Church and State were tumbling down, and ruin hover'd  
o'er us,  
The *Lords* and *Parsons* stretch'd their throats, and join'd the hor-  
rid chorus.

Like

Like Quixote, that renowned Knight, so fam'd in Spanish tale,  
And, full as mad, stepp'd EDMUND forth, equipt in *courtly mail*,  
He from the Treas'ry took a spear, 'twas tipt with gold, and pointed,  
And on his arm he bore a shield, giv'n by the Lord's anointed.

Thus arm'd with pow'r *he thought divine*, he rush'd into the battle,  
And on the little staymaker most furiously did rattle ;  
He threw his darts sublime about, and rav'd of *plots and treasure* ;  
But Freedom's champion stood unhurt, for he was clad in reason.

When COURTIZERS found his arguments could not be overturn'd,  
They cunningly concluded, he, by *praxy* should be burn'd :  
In ev'ry town thro' this good realm, poor *Paine* was executed,  
And what their logic could not reach the faggot has confuted.

Tho' buried with the dead he lies, by *legal undertakers*,  
His spirit still pervades the land, and never will forsake us ;  
We'll drink a bumper o'er his tomb, a tribute of affection,  
And with the sleeping RIGHTS of MAN a speedy resurrection.

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### EPIGRAM.

On a Stone thrown at a very great Man, but which  
missed him.

TALK no more of the lucky escape of the *head*,  
From a flint so unluckily thrown ;  
I think very different with thousands indeed  
'Twas a lucky escape for the *Stone*.

PETER PINDAR.

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*The pernicious Principles of TOM PAINE ex-  
posed, in an Address to Labourers and Mechanics.  
By a Gentleman.*

YOU who are of the lowest class of beings that can  
be called MEN ; to you I address myself ; to you,  
who are the scum of the earth, and unworthy the notice  
of

of gentlemen. It is reported, and generally believed, that many of you have had the *audacity* to read books of your own chusing, without being capable of judging which were fit, and which unfit, for your perusal ; of course political books have come into your hands, and, amongst the rest, the writings of that infamous traitor and incendiary **TOM PAINE**. How, in the name of wonder, could men in your sphere of life—men that have had no better education than a common country school could afford—men that have been bred up to the spade and the pickaxe, or the saw and the hammer—or you who have been dealing out pins and laces in your shops—how, I say, could you suppose yourselves capable of making choice of books ? how could you think of dabbling in politics ? I am at a loss to say which is greatest, your ignorance or your vanity. You must be profoundly ignorant indeed not to know that it is your duty never to touch a book of religion but what is put in your hands by the parson of your parish, nor a book of politics, unless handed you by a justice of the peace, or member of some corporation. The clergy, you know to be all good and pious men ; they never get drunk, and curse and swear, as you do ; but spend all their time in the study of divinity ; they never squander away their time in hunting, whoring and gaming, but sacrifice their whole lives for your good ; and surely then they must be the only men who can judge what religious books you ought to read. And as to magistrates they are the king's representatives, and all wise men, by virtue of their office ; and surely they must be the only judges of politics and political books. Besides, they have an undoubted right, and magisterial authority, to forbid you to read, think, or speak any thing but what they approve ; and of late, you know, they have very justly

and

king, and this is what TOM PAINE wants. He tells you of one man that has 8000*l.* a year, another 6000*l.* another 2000*l.* and so on ; but he don't tell you, how necessary these men are ; that it is by their influence the king is supported ; and, besides their influence they are a very useful set of men in their respective offices. There is the groom of the stool, that always attends his majesty when he wants to go to stool ; and surely this is an office so offensive, no man would like to undertake it for less than 1000*l.* a year ; and what could the king do without such a man ? There have been men who have died in the action of disemboguing, and surely a king's life is too precious for him to be trusted in such a situation alone. Then there is the Lord of the Bedchamber, who puts the king's shirt over his head every time he shifts himself. A very useful and necessary office this, and I dare say the poor man has not above 1000*l.* a year for his trouble, and little enough too every body knows : and there are numbers of such like officers besides, and they must be all paid, as every man is worthy of his hire ; and they ought to be all paid, and paid handsomely too. Then there is Mr. BURKE, who has only 1500*l.* a year for all his florid and eloquent orations in the house. Why, he deserved more than this for setting such low-bred, ragged-breeched dogs as you to rights, and telling you the truth, that you were the *Swinish Multitude*. This poor man, who strains his lungs at the risque of his health, and tears his throat for the king, has only 1500*l.* a year.

Now you see how the taxes are applied, and I hope you are convinced how necessary it is that we should pay taxes for the support of such a set of useful men ; and, at the same time, you must be convinced what an infernal devil this TOM PAINE must be, to endeavour to persuade you,

you, that those taxes were unnecessary, and that they were injurious to you, and contributed to your poverty! Now I will prove TOM PAINE to be a liar, and that the more taxes you pay, the more comfortable you and your families will be. Suppose you had as many windows in your houses as you pleased, and paid no window-tax—that you got a little fat, and made your own candles when you pleased—that you paid no duty for the leather your shoes are made of—or that you paid no duty for your malt, or the ale you drink. Suppose you paid no taxes for any thing you eat, drink, or wear, you would think it fine times! and, to be sure, if this was the case, you would get as much victuals, drink, and clothes as you have now, for less than half the money; and I dare say you are ignorant and stupid enough to think this would be a great advantage to you.—“Charming times!” you would be ready to exclaim—“we should be all gentlefolks!” But I would wish to convince you of your folly, and point out to you the inconvenience and disadvantage of such times. The consequence would be, you would have a glass of gin for three farthings, for which you now pay two-pence; and a pint of ale for a penny, for which you now pay two-pence; and you would be all drunk and mad half your time, your families would be starved, and your master’s work would not be done. These would be fine times, charming times, would not they?

Now I hope you are convinced that it is a happy thing for you that you are taxed, and heavily taxed too; and go to your work, and be thankful to the *gentlemen* who employ you for every thing you eat and drink, even if it was bread and water. It is your province to labour hard and live hard, and be thankful to the King, and WE Gentlemen, that you are not obliged to run in our carriages, and eat grains, as the poor do in some countries.

## The CONTRAST of the Day,

### THE PATRIOT'S OATH.

I SWEAR to support the good of my Country, in preference to all that is dear to me besides—to watch over those who have the management of its affairs, and, according to my station in society, use all my influence to reward its friends, and punish its enemies. I swear to revere its laws ; but I will always execrate the abuse of them.—I will love the King, as long as the happiness of the People is his ultimate aim—*no longer*. If he is badly advised, I will declare myself inimical to his measures. Since reform is so notoriously wanted, both in Church and State, I will sooner die than not demand it. No bribe of place or pension shall make me swerve from my steadfastness. I swear, according to my capacity, to understand for myself the politics of my Country, that I may know the honesty or knavery of every statesman. I will know the truth, and keep myself independent of every party ; and, finally, I swear, that no custom or authority shall make me embrace corruption as expedient, or wink at an unequal representation of the People, which no artifice can justify, and which is itself repugnant to the rights of Englishmen, and common sense.

The

## The CONTRAST of the Day.

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### THE ANTI-PATRIOT'S OATH.

I SWEAR to maintain my own interest, and leave the world to manage itself; but as protection is necessary to preserve the fruits of my love, I declare myself a friend to any government that will prevent disturbance. If I were in place I would do as those in place did, and say the same—above all, I should take care to provide for myself and friends.—I love my King, because he is King, and when he is dead I shall have another, whom I dare say I shall love as well. The more the friends of government get, the more the People must be taxed, for their services in defending the Constitution. I look upon Reform the same thing as Revolution; therefore I am for things as they are; nor do I expect any thing perfect in this life. I swear I would do exactly as the King and his ministers do, and I think every man has a right to take care of himself, which is the great Magna Charta of every Englishman. I think the law is good, because the practice of it is worth following. I swear that *Tom Paine* ought to be hanged, because he made a bustle about things I cannot understand, and raised a cry against the King for nothing at all, but taking care of his own family.—I swear, once for all, that the King and his Ministers are best competent to choose members of Parliament, and to make Lords and Ladies, and represent us all; and he is a Jacobin Frenchman that dares to say the People of Great Britain are unequally represented.

FRENCH

## FRENCH REVOLUTION.

*The following Extract from MISS WILLIAMS'S Letters from France, is calculated to obviate the Objections of those who connect good principles with bad agents, and seem desirous to confound a whole Nation with a few daring and guilty men that disgrace it...*

‘ I HAVE already hinted, that distant spectators, in judging of various parts of the French Revolution, have not allowed sufficiently for the pressure of circumstances, perhaps the most extraordinary that ever occurred to a People. I will just mention a few of them :—

‘ I. The inveteracy of a powerful aristocratic party, which operated from the very beginning of the Revolution, and which has kept up an unceasing irritation amongst the People.

‘ II. The manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, whose threats were ever present to the minds of the People.

‘ III. The conspiracy of kings, formed at Pilnitz ; an association of a new kind, as terrible as it was monstrous. Our countryman, Dr. Parr, has left me nothing to add to his eloquent reflections on the subject.

‘ IV. That real civil war, which, under the name of peace, has existed in France since the beginning of the Revolution, and openly broke forth in the latter periods of it. I promised to illustrate this more at large, but must defer doing so till another opportunity.

‘ I could enumerate several other circumstances, if my leisure permitted me to enter into details. I must, however, farther observe, that our friends in England, in judging of the French Revolution, do not seem in many cases to have allowed even for the ordinary weaknesses of human nature. It has always been the foible of man, to run from

one extreme to another.—Grant that the French have, for the moment, run from despotism to licentiousness—they have committed the common fault of our nature. Let us reason of them as we would do of ourselves, and let us allow them time to return to the just medium.

‘ No man is more shocked than I am at the crimes and horrors that have taken place in France, or to speak more justly in Paris, during the Revolution. But most of them have been the work of villains, who profited of a time of public confusion, to work out their own infernal purposes. Most of them have therefore no real connection with the Revolution ; and with respect to the few that have, it must be remembered, that a period of Revolution is not to be judged of by the rules that apply to seasons of peace and tranquillity. Great public commotions, such as those in France, bring forth all the passions.—If the French Revolution has been stained with scenes of vice and cruelty, it has also exhibited some of the noblest examples of generosity and virtue that any age or nation can boast of. It has exhibited acts that rival those of Greece and Rome : and surely France merits some indulgence from mankind, if, with men formed under the old despotism, she has not been able, all at once, to carry into practice the sublimest principles of justice and wisdom ever adopted by mankind. Her errors will pass-away ; her crimes are momentary, and will be forgotten ; her *principles* will be immortal, and her declaration of the rights of man will perish only with the human race.

‘ Revolutions exhibit man acting on a great scale ; hence they produce great virtues, and at the same time great vices. Three years of confusion form a vast period in the life of an individual ; but they make only a point in the *life of a nation*. They make, indeed, almost an imper-

Imperceptible point, if that nation is considered as a part of the great whole, and as affecting, by its conduct, the future fate of Europe, and of the world. The Revolutions of all other nations, our own and that of America excepted, have done nothing for mankind. What signifies it to the world who is despot in Turkey ; who vanquishes or is vanquished in Persia ; who is Pope of Rome ? The contest then is about the *masters*, but the *system* continues the same. In France, the contest has been about *principles*, and these the most important, the most sacred, the most essential to the happiness of man. Let France be arraigned before the tribunal of the human race—the must plead guilty to many charges—but she will still appear a meritorious criminal. For who before her, declared aloud, in the name of twenty-five millions of men, to attending Europe, those truths which lay concealed in the works of a few philosophers ? Who, before her, dared to combat *all* errors, and braving every prejudice, through good report and evil report, published the complete manifesto of the neglected rights of human kind !

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WE embrace the earliest opportunity of laying before the public, the following extract from many *very valuable Notes* annexed to the trials of the Rev. William Winterbotham, on Charges for Seditious Words, not only on account of the importance of the doctrine it contains, but as a specimen of the honest frankness and perspicuity, with which this *persecuted gentleman* expresses his sentiments, and, we cannot but recommend the perusal of these trials, as the most important to the rights of the nation, and as displaying the spirit of persecution in more glowing colours than any other trial now before the Public.

THERE are *Rights superior to Society* which the individual cannot *cede*, nor the society *accept*.—Such is  
the

the *absolute Right* of every individual to a sufficiency of the necessaries of life—*this is the unalienable gift of God.* Such is the *right to choose, act, and speak* consistent with the great law of Nature, “*do unto others as you would wish them to do unto you,*”—such is the *Right* of canvassing all the *Public Measures* of the society in which he resides—of expressing his approbation or disapprobation of them—such is the *right* to propose what he may conceive to be amendments—to endeavor to convince and enlighten the society on any subject whatever. Nay, should any individual disapprove of the *Laws, Form, or Expence* of the government of the society in which he lives, he has an *absolute right* to state his objections, and to lay his thoughts before the community at large, and to state to them what he thinks ought to be altered, or what he would wish to be established. Or should he conceive that an entire renovation of the society would be for its advantage, he has the *absolute right* of proposing it.

These are *rights* for which he is not indebted to any Constitution, but to the *Great Charter of Nature*; they are what he brings into society with him, which he cannot legally yield, nor society, without committing an act of violence, deprive him of. Every thing that goes to the prevention of the exercise of these rights is downright *Despotism*; and the man who is deprived of them is a *slave* rather than a member of society.

With respect to the *civil rights* of man, as they arise entirely from the *social union*, they must be bounded by the laws of that society of which he is a member;—but then those laws should express the *General Will*, and be made for the *General Good*, and, as far as it is possible, bear equal on the whole community—for no society can, consistent with justice, burden one part of its members to the exemption

emption of the other, or confer exclusive rights on one part to the prejudice of the other ; all hereditary *Rights, Offices, and Privileges*, are therefore species of Despotism, and as naturally tend to the *convulsion* and ruin of the *social Union*, as disease tends to the destruction of the *human frame*.

*Civil Rights* are nothing more than the *mutual claims* which the members of society have on each other (*by virtue of their union*) to *protect* and *secure* them in the enjoyment of their *natural* and *absolute Rights*, of which every individual *reigns a part* for the *mutual benefit* of the whole—and all the different modifications of Government are only so many different means which society has devised to *make the social union* more beneficial : for, in a society duly organized (and in *such* a society *only* can the members be *free*) every officer, from the Constable to the *chief Magistrate*, is the *servant* of the Community, and entrusted with *power only* for the purpose of enforcing on each member the *performance* of the conditions, to secure to him the benefit of the *social Compact*.

The social union of society, may therefore rather be considered as *aiding, protecting and securing* the individual in the enjoyment of *natural* and *absolute Rights*—than as conferring *any Rights* which he did not possess in himself by the *Law of Nature*.

If we examine what is called *civil society*, we shall find, in the present day, but one solitary instance of a Government formed on these principles, viz. *the United States of America*, all the rest have grown out of the *feudal system*, though some have, owing to a variety of circumstances, *outgrown* much of their original and natural deformity.—France has however attempted in Europe what has so successfully been adopted in America, but whether she will succeed or not is still in the womb of Providence.

# Politics for the People.

## PART II.

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## ON HONOUR.

CUSTOM makes that an honour in one country which is deemed a disgrace in another. A Laplander will offer his wife or his daughter to a stranger, and considers it as a point of politeness; a Parisian is indifferent about the virtue of his frail moiety; a citizen born in the provinces is miserable at the idea of her ceasing to be chaste. In the capital of England, a lord ends a quarrel with his *fists*; in the capital of France, a point of honour obliges one man to run another through the body. It was always deemed to be a disgrace to be hanged, but there was no dishonour in having the head cut off! To become a mother without the intervention of marriage is still held in horror in a thousand places; in others it is considered as an honour. To sleep with a slave in America is very common, but to eat with her would be a reproach! Before the revolution in France, to be the servant of a simple citizen,

was

was looked upon as a very humiliating situation ; but to be the *valet or lacquey* of a prince, was an honour which was purchased with large sums of money, and a life of misery and discontent. In short, the point of honour is not only different in different countries, but it is always varying, always changing with circumstances, and is hardly worth the attention of a man, who can be a good father, a good husband, and a good citizen, without wishing to obtain any reward for his virtues.

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*On the Duty of speaking our Sentiments freely in  
Times of the most imminent Danger.*

“SELL NOT THE TRUTH.” PROV. xxiii. 13.

THIS precept, *sell not the Truth*, regardeth, with others, the *politician*, who, by a timid circumspection, useth an artful concealment, when he ought to probe state-wounds to the bottom, and to discover the real authors of its miseries, and the true causes of its decline. In these circumstances, it is not enough to mourn over public calamities in secret ; they must be spoken of with *firmness* and *courage* : the politician must be the mouth and the voice of all those *oppressed people*, whose only resources are *prayers and tears* ; he must discover the fatal intrigues, and unvail the mysterious springs of the conduct of HIM, who, under pretence of public benefit, seeks only his own private emolument—he must publish the shame of him who is animated with no other desire, than that of building his own house on the ruins of the nation—he *must AROUSE him from his indolence, who deliberates by his own fire-side*, when imminent dangers require him to adopt bold, vigorous

force and effectual measures ; he must, without scruple, sacrifice him, who himself sacrificeth to his own avarice, or ambition, whole societies : he must fully persuade other senators that, if the misfortunes of the times require the death of any, it must be that of him *who kindled the fire*, and not of him who is ready to shed the last drop of his blood to extinguish it.—To keep fair with all, on these occasions, and by a TIMID SILENCE to avoid incurring the displeasure of those who convulse the state, and of those who cry for vengeance against them, is a conduct not only *unworthy of a Christian*, but unworthy of a *good Patriot*. Silence is an atrocious crime, and to *suppress* truth is to *sell* it : to *betray* it.

How doth an orator merit applause, my brethren, when, being called to give his suffrage for the public good, he speaks with that fire, which the love of his country kindles ; and knows no law but equity, and the safety of the people !—With this noble freedom the heathens debated : their intrepidity astonisheth only those, who are destitute of courage to imitate them.—Represent to yourselves Demosthenes speaking to his masters and judges, and *endeavouring to save them in spite of themselves*, and in spite of the punishments, which they sometimes inflicted on those, who offered to draw them out of the abysses into which they had plunged themselves.—Represent to yourselves this orator making remonstrances, that would now-a-days pass for FIREBRANDS of SEDITION, and saying to his countrymen ; *Will ye then eternally walk backward and forward in your public places, asking one another, What news ?* Imagine you hear this orator blaming the Athenians for the greatness of their enemy, and crying, *War, immortal war with every one, WHO DARES TO PLEAD FOR PHILIP †*. Such an orator merits the high-

† King of Macedon.

est

est praise. With whatever chastisements God may correct a people, he hath not determined their destruction, while he preserveth men, who are able to shew them in this manner, the means of preventing it.

A BRITON.

Mr. EDITOR,

Mr. Sheridan having, with that honest zeal which characterizes his conduct as a senator, instituted an enquiry into the scandalous abuse of the public purse, by the creation of *sinécure places*, or in other words, by the formation of JOBS, it may not be improper to bring the following paragraphs again before the public eye; they are extracted from the seventh edition of a work, entitled 'Facts, &c.' and, if report is to be believed, was written by that man who has constantly devoted himself, in the strictest sense of the word, to the people's cause, JOHN HORNE TOOKÉ.

Old Hubert.

“HE asks, “What is now our struggle?”

That those who *make the laws* shall no longer be prostituted to infamous and sordid gain: that the legislature itself may be rescued from temptations which flesh and blood cannot withstand.

—Have not *three or four hundred mercenaries* in the two houses already collected, against the prosperity and liberties of this country, what ten times as many thousands out of them would have attempted in vain?

Our ancestors have shut up, with all the bars and bolts of law, the principal entries through which prerogatives could burst in upon us. It is ours to close the avenue of corruption, through which the *influence of the crown* now threatens our final ruin.

The

The *people* bear the whole burden and expence both of the civil government and of war. They alone suffer all the consequences of misconduct and miscarriage : although the crown exclusively appoints the ministers to whom such misconduct and miscarriage can alone be imputed.

— Our only *natural* enemies, the most formidable *allies* of the house of Bourbon ; *fraudulent contractors, useless placemen, unworthy pensioners*. These are the fatal troops which have baffled the forces of this kingdom."

After speaking of the greatness of a king of Great Britain,—he thus apostrophises ; " but why should we dwell upon the greatness of a king, when the very existence of the nation is at stake ?"

We are now arrived at a period when either corruption must be thoroughly purged from the senate, or the nation is finally and irrecoverably undone. If no remaining remedy can be found, by which this pestilence may be quietly removed—*Actum est de Republicæ*, let us fix the mark of the plague upon the doors of the house, and then —let him that will die of the infection, enter.

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## ADDRESS of the FRENCH NATION to the COMBINED POWERS.

BY ROBESPIERRE.

**I**S it fit that the National Convention should answer the manifestoes of the tyrants leagued against the French Republic ? To despise them, no doubt, is natural : but it is useful to confound, and just to punish, them.

How strange a phenomenon is a manifesto of despotism  
against

against liberty ! How have they dared to appeal to men as arbiters among themselves and us ! How is it possible that they should not fear, lest the subject of their quarrel might awaken the remembrance of their vices, and accelerate their perdition !

Of what do they accuse us ? Of their own crimes ! they charge us with rebellion !—Slaves ! revolted against the sovereignty of the people, can you possibly be ignorant, that nothing but victory can justify this inculpation ? —Behold the scaffold of the last of our tyrants ! Behold the whole French nation in arms to punish his equals ! —This is our answer.

Kings accuse the French people of immorality !—Listen, ye nations ! attentively listen to the lessons of those respectable instructors of human kind ! The morals of kings, good God ! and the virtue of courtiers ! Celebrate, ye nations ! the good-nature of Tiberius, and the candour of Louis XVIth, admire the prudence of Claudius, and the wisdom of the Georges ! Praise the temperance and justice of William and Leopold ! exalt the chastity of Messalina ! the conjugal fidelity and the modesty of Catharine ! Praise the invincible aversion of all former, present and future despots against usurpations and tyranny ! their tender solicitude for oppressed innocence ! their religious respect for the rights of man !

They accuse us of irreligion ; they give out that we have declared war against God himself. How edifying is the piety of tyrants ! and how pleasing to Heaven must be those virtues which shine in their courts ! Who is the God they are talking of ? Do they know any but pride, debauchery, and all sorts of vices ? They call themselves images of God, perhaps, in order to cause all the world to desert his altars. They assert that their authority is his work.

work. No! God has created tigers, [and kings are the master-piece of human corruption. They invoke Heaven in order to usurp the world. They talk of God, to put themselves in his place; they refer to him the prayers of the poor and the groans of the wretched; they themselves are the gods of the rich, the oppressors and assassins of the people. To revere God and to punish kings is one and the same thing. What people ever offered so pure a worship to the Supreme Being as we do? Under his auspices we have proclaimed the eternal principles of all human society. The death-warrant of tyrants slumbered, forgotten in the enervated and timorous minds of men. We have put it into execution. The world was the exclusive property of two or three races of tyrants, as the desert wilds of Africa are the domains of tigers and serpents. We have restored it to human kind. The laws of eternal justice were, by way of contempt, called the laws of honest people; we have given them a real and beneficial existence. Morals were confined to the writings of philosophers; we have, by them, ennobled the government of nations.

Nations! if you are not able to avail yourselves of the titles which we have conquered for you, at least do not violate our rights, nor calumniate our courage. The French are not infected with the fury of rendering other nations free and happy against their own will. All the tyrants might have nodded and died on their blood-cemented thrones, had they chosen to respect the independence of the French people. We only wish to enlighten you with respect to their impudent calumnies.

Your masters tell you, that the French nation has proscribed all kind of religions, and replaced the adoration of God by that of some individuals. They represent us to  
you

you as a mad and idolatrous nation.—It is false. The French people and their representatives respect all sorts of religious worship, and do not proscribe any. They revere the virtue of the martyrs of humanity without idolatry. They abhor intolerance and persecution, whatever cloke they may assume. They equally condemn the wild extravagancies of philosophy, the follies of superstition, or the crimes of fanaticism.

Your tyrants impute to us some irregularities, which are inseparable from the stormy periods of a great revolution. They lay at our doors the results of their own intrigues, and the dark deeds of their own emissaries. Whatever is great and sublime in our revolution is the work of the French people; whatever bears a different character belongs to our enemies. All great and magnanimous men side with the Republic; all treacherous and corrupted beings embrace the cause of your tyrants. Do we reproach the sun for some few shady clouds which obscure his brilliant orbit? Can august Liberty lose her charms divine, because the emissaries of despotism strive to defile them? Your misfortunes and ours are the crimes of the common enemies of humanity. Can this be with you a reason to hate us? No! it is an urgent reason to punish them.

The wretches denounce to you the founders of the Republic. The modern Tarquins have dared to say that the senate of Rome was a band of robbers. The servants of Porfenna treated Scaevola as an assassin. According to the manifesto of Xerxes, Aristides had robbed the treasury of Greece. Their hands full of spirits and stained with Roman blood, Octavius, Antoninus, and Lepidus, ordered all the Romans to believe that they alone were eminently mild, just, and virtuous. In the eyes of Tiberius and Sejanus,

Janus, Brutus and Cassius were nothing but bloody-minded fellows and impostors,

Frenchmen ! people of all countries ! every insult against Liberty, in the persons of your representatives, is directed against yourselves. Several members of the Convention have been charged with weaknesses, others with crimes.—What has all this to do with the French people ? What else does this prove against the Convention, but the force it imparts to the weak, and the punishment it inflicts on the guilty ? All the armies of the tyrants of Europe have been repulsed, in spite of five years of treason, conspiracies, and domestic broils. The scaffold of faithless deputies has been erected near that of the last tyrant,—the immortal tablets, on which, in the midst of mighty storms, the Representatives of the people have engraved the social bond of the French people:—all men equal before the law, and all great criminals trembling at the sight of justice, notwithstanding the perfidy of our enemies ;—the people, full of energy and wisdom, terrible and just, rallying at the voice of reason, and learning to discern their enemies, even under the mask of patriotism ;—the French people running to arms, in order to defend the magnificent work of their courage and their good sense :—this is the picture which we hold forth to confound our enemies !

We are also able, if necessary, to make good our claim. Our blood too has flowed for our country. The National Convention can shew to the friends and enemies of France honourable scars and glorious mutilations. Two illustrious adversaries of tyranny have fallen under the poniard of a criminal faction ;—a worthy rival of their republican virtues, shut up in a besieged town, formed the glorious plan, with a few companions, to fight his way through the encircling phalanx of the enemy ;—a noble victim

victim of an odious treason, he fell into the hands of the satellites of Austria, and now expiates in torments his sublime attachment to the cause of Liberty. Other representatives penetrated through the southern countries, and, scarcely able to escape from the fury of traitors, they saved the French army, betrayed by treacherous chiefs, and forced the satellites of the tyrants of Austria, Spain, and Piedmont, to fly. In Toulon, that disgrace of the French nation, Bayle and Beauvaisse have died for their country and its sacred laws. Under the walls of this sacrilegious city, Gasparin, directing the thunder which was to punish it, and animating the republican valour of our warriors, has fallen a victim of his courage and the wickedness of our enemies.

The North and the South, the Alps and the Pyrenees, the Scheldt and the Rhine, the Loire, the Moselle, and the Sambre, have seen our republican battalions rally themselves at the voice of the representatives of the people, under the colours of Liberty and Victory. The one party has perished,—the other triumphs.

The whole Convention braves death and the fury of all tyrants.

Illustrious defenders of the cause of kings—Princes, ministers, generals, courtiers, name to us your civic virtues ;—recount to us the important services that you have rendered humanity ;—talk to us of the fortresses conquered by the force of your guineas ;—extol to us the talents of your agents, and the eagerness of your soldiers to fly before the defenders of the Republic ;—boast of your noble contempt for the rights of men and for humanity ; of our prisoners slaughtered in cold blood ; of our women ravished by your emissaries ; of infants massacred on the bosom of their mothers ; of the murdering tooth of Austrian

arian tigers, tearing their bleeding members ;—vaunt of your exploits in America, at Genoa, and at Toulon ;—especially boast of your ability in the art of poisonings and assassinations ! Behold tyrants, these are your virtues !

Illustrious Parliament of Great Britain, name to us your heroes. You have a party of the Opposition among yourselves. Patriotism opposes patriotism : despotism triumphs. The minority opposes ; the majority is corrupted. Insolent and vile people, the venality of your representatives exists under your own eyes, and, by your own confession, you adopt their favourite principle ! You who have deputies, whose talents are an object of sale, like the wool of your sheep and the steel of your manufactures ;—dare you to talk of morality and liberty !

What, then, is that strange privilege, to reason without shame, which the stupid patience of the people seems to grant to tyrants ! What are those little men (whose sole merit consists in knowing the price of British consciences ; who strive to transplant into France the vices and corruption of their country) who resist the virtues of the French people !

Generous people ! we swear that you shall be revenged ! The house of Austria shall perish sooner than France ! London shall be free before Paris shall return to slavery ! Let traitors tremble ; let the last of the cowardly emissaries of our enemies disappear ; let patriotism triumph, and innocence cheer up ! fight ! your cause is holy : your courage is invincible ; your representatives know how to die ; they can do more,—*they know how to conquer.*

\*† This Address was pronounced with repeated applause, and ordered, like the late English Manifesto, to be dispersed through the Republic. The ministry, we understand, intend to publish the above address, with a refutation annexed, immediately after the capture of St. Maloes and Dunkirk. Mr. Pitt will write on the ambiguity of the French manifesto, the duke of Brunswick on their inhumanity, Mr. Burke on their lack of good manners, Lord Loughborough on their dishonesty, &c.

## THE FAST DAY.

The author of a pamphlet called, "Peace and Reform," charges our divines, with recommending a conduct equally sanguinary with the French : and infers therefrom, that French principles of Liberty are no more to be condemned, on account of the excesses committed by a part of that nation, than the British constitution is to be condemned on account of the excesses recommended from the pulpit. The following is the passage we allude to :

**T**HE Fast day, instead of being passed in conformity with its professed purpose, in humiliation before God, in prayers for the conversion of unbelievers, the reformation of ourselves, and the general peace and happiness of mankind ; instead of a day, on which every priest made an extraordinary exertion of his powers, in imploring the benevolence of the Almighty to enlighten the minds, to soften the hearts, and to spare the blood, of his people,—it was chiefly celebrated by the most dreadful maledictions. The Supreme Being, who, true religion tells us, enjoins brotherly love, forgiveness, humanity and virtue, was addressed by our divines as if he had been more merciless and blood-thirsty than any divinity that ever disgraced Paganism ; and the temples of the God of Peace were made to resound with imprecations, from which even our ancestors would have recoiled, when engaged in the worship of their ferocious Odin, whom they revered as "the terrible and severe God ; the active roaring deity ; the father of slaughter ; the God that carrieth destruction and fire, and nameth those that are to be slain.\*"

The solemnity of the scene was well calculated for rous-

\* See the Edda.

ing and misleading the passions, and every artifice was employed to excite hatred towards the French, and provoke us to fury. The priesthood, as well as the princes, felt themselves interested in the cause, and their zeal shook the pulpit with exhortations to vengeance. The Bishop of Gloucester, before the House of Lords, thus spoke of that nation :—" Infatuated and remorseless people! the measure of your iniquities seems at length to be full; the hour of retribution is coming fast upon you! Drunk with the blood of your fellow citizens, you have dared to spread your ravages abroad; rousing the surrounding nations, in justice to themselves and the common cause of humanity, to confederate against you, in order to execute the wrath of God on your devoted heads." His Lordship, however, might have been restrained from such rash denunciations of divine judgment, by the awful admonitions of the Founder of that religion which he pretended to preach.

" And Jesus Christ answering, said, suppose ye these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans, because they suffered such things? I tell you nay: but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish:"

" And those eighteen on whom the tower of Siloam fell and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you nay: but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish †."

The other Fast Day Sermons were in unison with that of the Bishop of Gloucester, with a very few exceptions. The Rev. J. Gardener, at Taunton said, " shall we not labour to bring such persons (as the French, and Reformers in general) to a proper sense of their duty, or *exterminate them and their opinions*?" and the Rev. Mr. Bromley,

† St. Luke c. xiii.

at Fitzroy Chapel hopes "that the reckoning which God will make will not be long delayed against a nation (France) which is certainly behind no other whose measure of iniquities has, in any records of time, *called forth his vengeance to erase it from the earth* §." These are the sentiments of our High Church pastors: such is the religion, the benevolence, the humanity, they teach! To exterminate for opinion! What more did Marat ever desire! To be the instrument of God in executing his vengeance, Mahomet used the same plea for all his murders and rapine! to erase a whole nation from the earth!!! Neither Mahomet, Marat, nor Robespierre, have equalled this! How limited and insignificant have been their proscriptions compared with those of our own pious pastors, who would "seal on the forehead as the servants of God \*," all those who make war against France; who would "send myriads of locusts, with crowns like gold upon their heads, and faces like men, invested with scorpion power, to torment the unsealed" enthusiasts of that distracted nation, and "let loose the angels of the Euphrates to slaughter a third of mankind." ††

Similar passages from the sermons preached on that Christian day would fill a volume. Most of them tend to inflame the people to a war of extermination, and insinuate the destruction of those who desire a parliamentary reform. Surely our divines cannot be so much mistaken as to imagine these harangues gratifying to the Head of the Church? Their affection towards the Crown, indeed, is natural. The Bishop of Durham's promotion has taught them the road to preferment; and my Lord of

‡ These passages are taken from the Sermons published under the names of these divines.

‡ Vide Revelations, c. vii. v. 3.

†† Vide Revelations, c. ix.

Gloucester has been long looking for a translation ; but not such as Elijah's ; his present ambition looks NO HIGHER THAN CANTERBURY.

Nor were the sermons publicly preached more inflammatory than the writings anonymously published by our High Church Men ; one of which, in Birmingham, under the fictitious name of Job Nott, thus speaks of those whom it calls " New-fashioned, restless Dissenters," and the members of a society instituted on the principles of Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond, for procuring a Reform of Parliament ; " Do be off ; only think of the New Drop ; you may be recorded in the Newgate Calendar ; transportation may reform you ; you deserve to be highly exalted ; did you ever see the New Drop ?" and concludes with wishing that these Dissenters and Reformers, whom it deems factious, " tied in their garters may swing." Yet the author of this elegant book calls himself a friend to conciliation and unanimity, a moderate man, a man of peace ! He may be so for a Birmingham man ; but if such are the friends to peace and moderation in that town, can we wonder at the atrocities which have taken place there, and still may be repeated, while Job Nott, and such publications are publicly sold with a bookseller's name to them, and are even boasted of by their authors.

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*Mr. B——ke to the Swinish Multitude.*

I E——d B——ke, who am not your friend,  
But wish you to the dirt subdu'd,  
In humbler strain now condescend  
To address the *Swinish Multitude*.

My education has been such,  
That few can boast of one so good :  
*St Omer's* taught me very much  
To hate the *Swinish Multitude*.

"Twas

"Twas arbitrary power my mind  
 In every partial light there view'd ;  
 Till I could say that " G—d design'd "  
 For slaves the *Swinish Multitude*.

For *England* then I bent my course,  
 And there my studies still pursued ;  
 By *Shebbeare's* help thought worse and worse  
 Of all the *Swinish Multitude*.

Pillor'd *Sacheverell's* faith so clear,  
 I oft did read in *Johnson* rude ;  
 And then like him full ill could bear  
 To see the *Swinish Multitude*.

On politics being still intent,  
 To Parliament I'd fain intrude,  
 And chosen was to represent  
 Some of the *Swinish Multitude*.

I opposition join'd 'tis true,  
 And on the court attacks renew'd ;  
 A place and pension was my view,  
 Not love to a *Swinish Multitude*.

Much did I speak, few did I spare,  
 And barely fed, sought better food,  
 And gap'd for money to my share,  
 Squeez'd from the *Swinish Multitude*.

But tir'd at length I chang'd my cry,  
 And on the public did obtrude  
 A libel bold on Liberty,  
 And on the *Swinish Multitude*.

Thanks to my stars, it did the work,  
 My book \*\*\*\*\*'s stubborn heart subdu'd ;  
 Full fifteen hundred pounds had B——,  
 Spite of the *Swinish Multitude*.

'Tis true, the errors of my book  
*Tom Paine* expos'd, (that villain rude)  
 And made me like a rascal look  
 To all the *Swinish Multitude*.

But, what of that? full snug am I,  
 In spite of *Democrat's* vile brood ;  
 For Kings and Courts I'll loudly cry,  
 And d——n the *Swinish Multitude*.

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## OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT WAR.

From GILBERT WAKEFIELD's *Spirit of Christianity, compared with the Spirit of the Times in Great Britain*; just published.

After severely, but justly, censuring, the doctrines promulgated from the Pulpit on the execution of MARIE ANTOINETTE, this spirited and patriotic Writer thus proceeds.

THESE preachers call forth all the rhetoric of the schools in describing the enormities of the *French republicans*. Doubtless, that country has become a theatre of dreadful massacre and devastation:

*Effects unhappy from a generous cause!*

And to what origin may these horrors be reasonably assigned? to our own interference, as I remarked before; and that of the combined Tyrants, most unquestionably. *We* have fomented their divisions; *we* have given vigour

to the private animosities of their several factions, and called forth all their fury, by hunting them down like beasts for the slaughter. *Their* crimes, so exaggerated and founded forth, are *occasional* and *incidental*, stricken out by the violent collisions of such an unprecedented conflict; which has given full scope to all the prejudices and passions of outraged humanity. The wickedness of *this* country, on the other hand, is of a *deliberate* and *systematic* kind; abundantly transcending all the enormities of the *French*. Who will deny, that *we* have sacrificed in the *East*, by war and famine, (to say nothing of the world of wretchedness brought upon the living) in the course of our tyrannies in that region, more lives than *France* contains? that *we* have deprived the *West Indians* of their territory, and extirpated their race? that *we* have enslaved and slaughtered, and are daily slaughtering and enslaving, more sons of *Africa*, than can easily be numbered? that *we* are betraying and butchering, under pretence of protection, the *royalists* of *France*? that *we* carry plague and pestilence, misery and ruin, through the universe? Yet we dwell with the complacency of innocence, on our *own happy government* and *reformed church*, in contrast with the *Atheism* and murders of the *French*. How shall I determine, which exceeds in baseness, our profligacy, or our hypocrisy? It must be, that some signal judgments are laid up in store for such a flagitious system; nor is it easy to conceive, how they could fall upon it, unless the heart were *hardened of Pharaoh and his servants*. A lamentable fact! which the present conduct of this country evinces to demonstration.

In the mean time, our political ministers, who are rioting on the spoils of the public, in an hour pregnant with calamity and distress, may delude the people with an idle  
voci-

vociferation of *anarchy* and *atheism*, on one hand; and the blessings of our constitution on the other: the *bishop of Durham*, in the fulness of *disinterested conviction*, may harangue the wondering *Palatinate* on the *happiness* and *comforts* of his country: our Dignitaries of the *Church*, who so *freely* give what they *received freely*, may fulminate, from their *stalls* and *pulpits*, *antichristian anathemas* against *atheists* and *republicans*, instead of uttering *prayers* and *benedictions* in behalf of their supposed errors—*alas!* what will the *verbera lingua*—the *stripes of the tongue* avail against the blow of an omnipotent arm, which is already smiting the oppressors of the earth?

The apostle *Paul* lays it down as a necessary qualification for the office of a *bishop*, that he be *no striker, nor a brawler*: (1 Tim. iii. 3.) Have the *prelates of England* and *Ireland* proved the legitimacy of their appointment to *Bishoprics* by these essential characters? Have they appeared, in their capacities of *Diocesans* and *Senators*, as the advocates of *peace* and suffering *humanity*? Have they exerted their eloquence, and lent their suffrage, to stem the career of madness and fanaticism, which are again letting slip the dogs of a *holy war* to lay waste the earth? Do not *all* our *bishops*, by their silence at least, and unresisting acquiescence, countenance these horrid scenes of ferocity and carnage? And when we think of one in particular, my *Lord of Rochester*, can we forbear associating with that idea, the lines of *Milton*?

—on the other side

Incens'd with indignation Satan stood  
Unterrify'd; and, like a comet burn'd,  
That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge  
In th' arctic sky, and from his horrid hair  
Shakes Pestilence and War.

Them:

Themselves, or their advocates, have my leave to reconcile such conduct, if they can, with the patterns and precepts of the *Christian* dispensation : but the most audacious of the *Reevian* associators, (who, with an *effrontery* flagitious beyond description, tell us of *equal laws*, when the money of *one man* can do away the effects of an offence, which shall consign *another* to a dungeon) will not dare to deny, that such demeanour would have been perfectly consistent, if, instead of the present readings in our Bibles, the direction of *Christ* to *Peter* (John *xxi.* 15, 16.) had been, *FLEECE my sheep ;—MURDER my lambs.*

But, what fills up, in my opinion, the measure of our impieties, and leaves them incapable of aggravation, is, *the proclamation for a solemn fast* ; to implore, truly, the assistance of the Almighty in destroying his own image, and desolating his own creation ! No energies of language, that I have in store, can delineate *my* sense of this enormity, this sacrilegious profanation of religion. I am constrained to refer the conception of it to *expressive silence* and secret feeling. I wonder less at the *clergy* of the *establishment*, who are accustomed to the trammels of subjection, with the lash of *episcopal* jurisdiction waving over them, for *their* compliance with this unholy mandate ; but that *dissenters* can prevail upon themselves thus to *prostitute religion* at the call of secular interest and ambition, is deplorable indeed ! and much confirms me in my persuasion of that general *antichristianism*, which overpreads this country. But they must stand or fall to their own Master : and of him may they *find mercy in that day* !

## ON A REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

**I**N the English constitution the people can have no share in forming the laws, that is, no liberty, but what they exert through the House of Commons. The independence of this house, is, therefore, the column on which the whole fabric of our liberty rests.

Representation may be considered as complete when it collects to a sufficient extent, and transmits with perfect fidelity, the real sentiments of the people; but this it may fail of accomplishing through various causes. If its electors are but a handful of people, and of a peculiar order and description; if its duration is sufficient to enable it to imbibe the spirit of a corporation; if its integrity be corrupted by treasury influence, or warped by the prospect of places and pensions; it may, by these means, not only fail of the end of its appointment, but fall into such an entire dependence on the executive branch, as to become a most dangerous instrument of arbitrary power. The usurpation of the emperors at Rome would not have been safe, unless it had concealed itself behind the formalities of a Senate.

The confused and inadequate state of our representation is well known. The majority of the House of Commons is chosen by less than eight thousand out of eight millions. The qualifications that confer the right of election are capricious and irregular, and create tedious scrutiny. In order to give the people a true representation, every householder, or perhaps every adult male, should be permitted to vote. Thus men's different passions and prejudices would check each other; the predominancy of  
local

local interest would be kept down ; and the result would be a general impression, which would convey with precision the unbiassed sense of the people. Parliaments ought to be elected annually. Their present long duration sets the members at a distance from the people, begets a notion of independence, and is the chief cause of corruption. The necessity of a reform is in nothing more obvious, than in the ascendancy of the aristocracy, that colossus which bestrides both houses, legislating in one, and exerting a domineering influence in the other. Systematic opposition is both the offspring and the cherisher of faction ; party is founded on principle ; faction on men.—No good reason can be given for postponing the Reform of Parliament.

If the people be tranquil and composed, and have not caught the passion of reform ; it is impolitic, say the ministry, to disturb their minds, by agitating a question that lies at rest : if they are awakened, and touched with a conviction of the abuse, we must wait, say they, till the ferment subsides, and not lessen our dignity by seeming to yield to popular clamour : if we are at peace, and commerce flourishes, it is concluded we cannot need any improvement, in circumstances so prosperous and happy ; if, on the other hand, we are at war, and our affairs unfortunate, an amendment in the representation is dreaded, as it would seem an acknowledgment, that our calamities flowed from the ill conduct of Parliament. Now, as the nation must always be in one or other of these situations, the conclusion is, the period of reform can never arrive at all.

This pretence for delay will appear the more extraordinary, in the British ministry, from a comparison of the exploits they have performed, with the task they decline.

They

They have found time for involving us in millions of debt ; for cementing a system of corruption, that reaches from the cabinet to the cottage ; for carrying havoc and devastation to the remotest extremities of the globe ; for accumulating taxes which famish the peasant and reward the parasite : for bandying the whole kingdom into factions, to the ruin of all virtue and public spirit ; for the completion of these achievements they have suffered no opportunity to escape them. Elementary treatises on time, mention various arrangements and divisions, but none have ever touched on the chronology of statesmen. These are a generation, who measure their time not so much by the revolutions of the sun, as by the revolutions of power. There are two æras particularly marked in their calendar ; the one, the period they are in the ministry, and the other, when they are out : which have a very different effect on their sentiments and reasoning. Their course commences in the character of friends to the people, whose grievances they display in all the colours of variegated diction. But the moment they step over the threshold of St. James's, they behold every thing in a new light ; the taxes seem lessened, the people rise from their depression, the nation flourishes in peace and plenty, and every attempt at improvement is like heightening the beauties of Paradise, or mending the air of Elysium.

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*On the Causes of the present Discontents.*

THE present crisis demands a speedy and effectual reform. The influence of the crown is so augmented by the accumulation of debts and taxes, as to destroy the balance of the constitution. Corruption lays apprehension asleep,

asleep, and effects its purposes, while the forms of liberty remain undisturbed. Place and pension bills are no longer thought of—a standing army is no longer a subject of complaint.

There cannot be a clearer symptom of the decay of liberty than the dread of speculative opinions; which is at present carried to a length in this nation that can scarcely be exceeded. Englishmen were accustomed, till of late, to make political speculation the amusement of leisure, and the employment of genius—they are now taught to fear it more than death. Under the torpid touch of despotism the patriotic spirit has shrunk into a narrow compass: confined to gaze with admiration on the proceedings of Parliament, and listen to the oracles of the minister with silent acquiescence and pious awe. Abuses are sacred, and the pool of corruption must putrify in peace. Persons who a few years back were clamorous for reform, are making atonement for having been betrayed into any appearance of virtue, by a quick return to their natural character. Is not the kingdom peopled with spies and informers?—Are not inquisitorial tribunals erected in every corner of the land?—A stranger who beholding a whole nation filled with alarm, should enquire the cause of the commotion, would be a little surprised on being informed, that instead of any appearance of insurrections or plots, a pamphlet only had been published. In a government upheld by so immense a revenue, and boasting a constitution declared to be the envy of the world, this abject distrust of its own power, is more than a million lectures on corruptions and abuses. The wisdom of ages, the master-piece of human policy, complete in all its parts, and that needs no reformation, can hardly support itself against a sixpenny pamphlet, devoid of truth or ability! To require sycophants

to

to blush is exacting too great a departure from the decorum of their character ; but common sense might be expected to remain, after shame is extinguished.

Whoever seriously contemplates the present infatuation of the people, and the character of their leaders, will be tempted to predict the speedy downfall of Liberty. They cherish to excess the forms, while they repress the spirit, of the constitution : they persecute freedom, and adorn its sepulchre. When corruption has struck its roots so deep, it may be doubted whether even the liberty of the press be not of more detriment than advantage. The prints which are the common sources of information, are replete with falsehood ; virtue is calumniated ; and hardly any characters safe from their blast, but those whom infamy cannot sink lower. The greater part, no doubt, are in the pay of ministry, or their adherents. This delusion spreads, and the people are instructed to confound anarchy with reform, their friends with their oppressors.

## THOUGHTS ON WAR.

**F**AMINE, pestilence, and war, are the three most pernicious and destructive ingredients to which the inhabitants of this world are subjected. Under the class of famine may be ranged all the unwholesome sustenance which poverty compels us to make use of, to abridge our life in the hope of supporting it.

Pestilence comprehends all contagious diseases, which amount to the number of two or three thousand. *War*, which unites in itself all these, we derive from the imagination of three or four hundred persons scattered over the  
surface

surface of the globe, under the names of *Princes* & *Ministers*.

The most determined flatterers will readily agree, that ~~war~~ always drags both famine and pestilence in its train ; as a proof of which, it is necessary only to have visited the hospitals of the German armies, and to have passed through a village where some warlike exploit has been achieved.

To desolate countries, to destroy habitations, and to make an annual slaughter of 50 or 100,000 men, is, without doubt, *a very fine act* ! This invention was at first cultivated by nations assembled for their common good, but it is not so now-a-days. A prince is informed by a genealogist, that he is descended in a right line from a nobleman, whose parents had made a family compact three or four hundred years ago, with a family whose very memory is buried in oblivion. The family had distant pretensions to a province, whose last possessor died of an apoplexy. The prince and his council immediately conclude, that his province, which is at some hundred leagues distance, may in vain protest that they do not know him ; that they have no mind to be governed by him ; that in order to give laws to a people it is necessary at least to have their consent ; these arguments would make no impression upon the ears of the Prince whose right is found incontestible. He immediately procures a great number of idle men, who have nothing to lose ; he clothes them with a *red* or a *blue coat*, trimmed with a different colour, borders their hats with a *broad white lace*, makes them turn to *right and left*, and marches them to *Glory* ! Other Princes who hear talk of this equipment take part each according to his power ; and cover a small extent of  
country

country with more *hired murderers* than Gengis Khan, Tamerlane, or Bajazet, ever had at their command.

People that live at a distance are told that these great powers are going to fight, and that, if they will be of the party, they may get five or six pence per day for butchering their fellow men : immediately they divide themselves into two gangs, like reapers, and sell their services to any *chief* who will employ them. *These multitudes are extremely violent* against each other, not only without having any interest in the process, but *even* without knowing the subject-matter of dispute.

Five or six powerful nations are engaged at the same time ; sometimes *two against three*, sometimes *three against four*, and, at another time, *one against five*, all equally detesting each other, uniting and attacking in turn ; agreeing however most *cordially* in this single point, viz. to do all the mischief they can. The wonderful of this *infernal* enterprize is, that each chief of these *gangs of murderers* pompously causes his *colours to be blessed*, and with awful solemnity invokes the assistance of *his Creator*, before he goes to exterminate his neighbour. If a Prince has had the good fortune only to cut the throats of two or three thousand men, he does not think it of sufficient importance to give *God thanks* ; but when about 10,000 *men* have been destroyed by *fire and sword*, and that, to complete the triumph, some *town* has been *totally demolished*, with *thousands* of women and children buried under the ruins, they then sing a long song in four parts, composed in a language unknown to those who have been fighting. The same song serves for *weddings and births* as well as for *murders*.

True religion has a thousand times prevented men from committing crimes ; a mind well educated has not the inclination ;

clination ; a tender mind revolts at the idea ; it represents to itself a *God full of justice*, and an *avenger of crimes* ; but *artificial religion* encourages all the cruelties which conjurations, seditions, thefts, ambuscades, pillages, and murders exercise together. Each man marches to his crime with alacrity under the *Banners of his Saint* !

In all countries a certain number of *preachers* are paid to celebrate these days of murder ; some of them are clothed with a *long black close coat*, over which is a *short cloak* ; others wear a *shirt* over their *coat* ; and some there are who wear *two pendants of party-coloured stuff* over the *shirt*. They all make long speeches, and repeat what was done formerly in Palestine apropos to a battle in Flanders.

The remainder of the year *these gentry* declaim against *vice*. They prove, in three points, and by antithesis, that a lady who lightly spreads a little carmine upon her cheek, will be the *eternal object* of the *eternal vengeance* of the *Eternal* ; that an *epicure* who can afford to pay two hundred crowns to have his table served with the *most delicious fish* on a fast day, will *undoubtedly* be saved ; and that a poor man who eats *two pennyworth of mutton* will be *everlastingly damned*.

Out of many declamations of this kind, there are three or four composed by a Frenchman, named Mafillon, which an honest man may read without disgust : but in all these discourses, scarcely can you find two where the orator dares say any thing against this *dreadful custom*, this *horrid practice*, of war, which contains in itself the whole catalogue of crimes, the seeds of *every misery* man is liable to, the *very scourge* of the human race !

You have made a very good sermon upon impurity, O Bourdaloue ! but none upon these murders varied so many ways, upon these rapines, upon these thefts, upon this un-

versal

*iversal rage* which desolates the world. The collected vices of *all ages*, and of *all places united*, would not equal the mischief which *one single campaign* produces.

Miserable physicians of souls, you cry for more than an hour against the *prick of a pin*, but say nothing about the disease which is tearing us into a *thousand pieces*! *Moral philosophers* burn your books. So long as the caprice of some few individuals can annihilate *thousands of your brethren*, by means of *loyal cut throats*, that part of human kind consecrated to heroism, will be the most frightful and disgusting figure in nature. Of what consequence to me is humanity, benevolence, modesty, temperance, wisdom and piety, so long as half a pound of lead, shot at me from the distance of 600 paces, goes through my body, and that I die, in the 20th year of my age, in unspeakable torments, and that in the midst of five or six thousands more dying men, whilst my eyes, which open, for the last time, behold the town where I was born destroyed by *fire and sword*, and that the last sounds which vibrate on my ears, are the cries of *women and children* expiring under the ruins, and all for the pretended interest of a *man* whom *we know nothing of*?

## DECLARATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

OF THE

*United Constitutional Societies at Norwich.*

BEING fully convinced of our natural and unalienable rights, which we think have, since the revolution, been manifestly invaded by certain acts of parliament, too notorious to need animadversion ; four of which acts are  
not

not only inimical to our interest, but, being the principal source of all our miseries under which we groan, we should therefore acknowledge ourselves culpable to society, were we to conceal from mankind, and those of our associates, their fatal effects and ill consequences.—Since the Revolution of 1688, the following acts have taken place :

I. The Bounty Act passed for exporting GRAIN.—Since which time, monopoly of farms has taken place ; the consequence has been, neglect of rearing necessary LIVE STOCK, and the industrious husbandman is thereby driven to poverty and want.

II. An Act passed for borrowing Money, and the people were mortgaged to pay the interest thereof, which has since accumulated to the enormous annual sum of NINE MILLIONS.

III. An Act passed to exclude all those from legislation for a county who were not possessed of 600l. per annum ; also those for a city who had not 300l. of landed property, free of incumbrances ;—by which act the Aristocracy has assumed the ascendancy, and the Democracy is almost excluded its privileges ; else why do we hear of increasing proclamations to insult the people ? It is well for us that ministers of state are no prophets ; for, could they have foreseen the general utility of enlightening the minds of the people, there neither would have been proclamations, nor fawning addresses.

IV. An act passed, called the Septennial Act ; by which the parliament has made itself omnipotent, in contempt of the people,—the result of which has been bribery, gluttony, drunkenness, perjury and dissipation, at elections ; such vices fatally contaminate the morals of the people. That act has also, furthermore, completed our RUIN ; for, instead of the elected being the servants of the electors  
(who

(who are but very few) they claim an unlimited power, and are become masters of their constituents.

Admitting the labourers to be "worthy of their hire," the benefit thereof can be but little, while a law exists that gives encouragement to interested men, to export the fruits of their industry; they are therefore left in a miserable state of existence, owing to the scarcity and high price of provisions, being also compelled to the payment of *nine millions* annually, as interest for money borrowed; likewise *eight millions* more, exclusive of collecting,—the expenditure of which is a secret to us. We likewise acknowledge our perfect dissatisfaction of the Aristocracy, presumptuously arrogating the prerogative power of legislation, and almost excluding the Democracy,—more particularly while we are pestered with excisemen, tithing gentry, and other collectors (who are very numerous) of the revenue; moreover, a large military force, for the protection and execution of the laws relative to the same.

*Resolved unanimously,*

That having a right to participate in the management of that government, by which our lives, liberties, and properties are secured or endangered,—we therefore, in conjunction with our brethren and fellow-citizens in *Great Britain and Ireland*, do absolutely think it our duty (being compelled to it by necessity) to form ourselves into peaceable, rational, and regular societies, for the purpose of investigating the principles of government.

*Resolved unanimously,*

That the sole purpose of all our associations is, to have our grievances redressed, by meliorating the condition of the labouring poor, whom we think can be greatly relieved, by excluding sinecures and all unnecessary pensioners, and lessening the number of placemen. Universal suffrage,

frage, also annual elections to be restored for chusing and returning members to parliament, according to the plan given by the Duke of R—chm—d for a reform in parliament, and recommended by Mr. P——t, &c., &c. &c. in the year 1782. These privileges were once in being ;—till they are restored to us, we cannot think ourselves culpable in associating with decorum, perseverance, and unanimity.

*Resolved unanimously,*

That the British Convention of Delegates for a Parliamentary Reform have, by their conduct, justly merited the approbation of the United Societies of Norwich.

*Resolved unanimously,*

That it is the opinion of the United Societies of Norwich, *That the Magistrates of Edinburgh have acted unconstitutionally against the persons of MARGAROT, GERRALD, and the rest of their colleagues.*

Notwithstanding the horrid gloom that has overspread the world for ages, we rejoice in the anticipation of a brighter day, while we see the gilded beams of reason and philosophy are universally illuminating the minds of men ; and we hope the horrid trade of war and bloodshed is hastening to its exit, and that universal philanthropy and benevolence are offering to be established on the earth.

*Done by order of the United Societies in the City of Norwich, 16th Jan. 1794.*

J. BAGG, Chairman.

J. SAINT, Secretary.

# Politics for the People.

PART II.

N U M B E R IV.

Price Two-pence.

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1794.

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## *CONSOLATIONS to BRITISH SUBJECTS under the Burdens of the PRESENT WAR.*

MR. EDITOR,

AS by the appointment of a day of public humiliation for the purpose of praying for the success of our arms by sea and land, and the prosperity of these kingdoms, the government have tacitly acknowledged that they have hitherto been unsuccessful, and that the nation, notwithstanding the boasting language of ministerial hirelings, is in a declining state;—in consequence of which, the minds of the inhabitants of this *happy* land, are sunk into a state of dependency, bordering on despair. In order to prevent this contagion from spreading, I must beg that, through the medium of your Political Repository, you will lay before the Public the following sources of national consolation.

First,

First, In the several wars we have waged with France since the Revolution, we have already contracted a National Debt of Two Hundred and Forty Millions ! so that by the present war, we can only go on to increase it *somewhat more*, which is no very great evil, as, from the largeness of the sum, there is but little probability that it will ever be paid.

A second source of consolation is, that the war has entirely ruined the commerce and manufactures of our rival and enemy, France ; and this consideration I would particularly recommend, as calculated to keep up the spirits of our bankrupt traders and starving manufacturers, particularly of the Spitalfields and Norwich weavers. It cannot but be a great satisfaction to them to reflect, that they DO NOT SUFFER ALONE, and that the French are at least in as bad a situation as themselves.

A third source of consolation is, that we have the happiness to possess, in the highest degree, the friendship and confidence of our continental allies, of which they have afforded us the most convincing proofs by *condescending* to be taken into OUR PAY, and at the same time allowing us to fight THEIR BATTLES. What a comfort it must be to reflect, that we have such friends who are continually laying us under obligations by the *frank manner in which they accept of our favors*, and of whose *fidelity* in supporting the war we can have no doubt, while they permit us to have the *honor of defraying its expenses*. Nay, by their means, we may in a short time promise ourselves all the trade of Europe, as when our specie shall be exhausted, *they will have the goodness to accept in its stead our COMMODITIES and MANUFACTURES*.

A fourth source of consolation, and which is the last I shall at this time mention, is the universal spirit of loyalty  
and

and attachment to the Constitution, called forth by the late alarm, and which still displays itself amidst all the calamities of war. Not a *single complaint is heard* from the nation, and if any individual presumes to murmur against the hardness of the times, is he not immediately sentenced to *imprisonment or transposition?*

With these blessings still enjoyed, by virtue of our *blessed* constitution, however heavy the burdens of the war may be, no reasonable man can doubt for a moment, but they are outweighed by the advantages of an accumulation of a debt we never intend to pay—the ruin of the commerce of our enemies—the blessings derived from German Allies—and the punishment of Democracy.

*A Friend to the Happiness of Britons.*

*An HYMN for the FAST DAY,*

TO BE SUNG BY

THE FRIENDS OF MANKIND.

THY judgments, Lord, proclaim abroad  
The dreadful vengeance of a God ;  
Extending wide o'er Europe's land,  
Destruction flies, at thy command.

Methinks we hear the cannons roar,  
And see a sea of human gore ;  
We hear our brethren's dying cries,  
We feel their pangs,—and sympathize.

We see the devastation made  
By fire and the destructive blade ;  
Cities and towns in ruins lie,  
And tens of thousands tortur'd die.

Monarchs

Monarchs and Princes wield the sword,  
And mar the People's peace, O Lord !  
How wide their desolations spread,  
And fill th' astonish'd world with dread.

Long as those murderers tread the ground,  
Horror and misery will abound :  
When shall the blood of \*\*\*\*\* atone  
For all the crimes which they have done ?

Does not their measure yet run o'er,  
Or is there mischief still in store,  
Which sceptr'd Despots may devise,  
On men and brethren to practise ?

O Lord of Hosts ! in man's defence  
Exert thine own omnipotence :  
O save thine image, man—O spare  
From horrors of destructive war !

Let the dread Tyrants of the world  
Down from their lofty thrones be hurl'd ;  
O scatter those, Almighty God !  
Who gorge themselves with human blood.

All wars and tumults then shall cease,  
And men enjoy perpetual peace,  
As one large family of thine,  
As brethren knit in bands divine.

Then shall the fetter'd slave go free,  
And man rejoice in liberty,  
Enjoying all those rights divine,  
Which nature did for man design.

With

With holy transports of the soul,  
Shall worship thee without control ;  
Own thee their King, and thee alone,  
Detesting rivals of thy throne.

Th' industrious hand from cultur'd soil  
Shall reap the profits of his toil ;  
The beauteous verdure of the field  
Shall nature's gifts profusely yield.

Then shall no vultures take away  
Our earned comforts as their prey ;  
No locust shall our land devour,  
Nor Virtue feel Oppression's power.

Then none shall dare insult the poor,  
Nor spurn the aged from his door,  
Nor want, nor wretchedness despise,  
But free relieve with tearful eyes.

For this we meet, for this we pray,  
To this alone devote the day :  
Let Tyrants from their thrones be hurl'd ;  
With Peace and Freedom blest the world.

---

*An HYMN for the FAST DAY,*  
TO BE SUNG BY THE  
PRIVILEGED ORDERS OF EUROPE.

O Most august, tremendous king !  
Enthron'd in flames and smoke below ;  
A thousand kings thy greatness sing  
In hollow groans, and shrieks of woe.

The

The mighty king of kings art thou!  
 Their hearts are all at thy control;  
 At thy command all monarchs bow,  
 Thou turn'st them just as waters roll.

We too thy faithful servants are,  
 We join our princes in thy cause,  
 We aid them in their bloody war,  
 And yield obedience to thy laws.

O Beelzebub! we joy to see  
 Thy glorious work go on so well;  
 Thousands of souls we send to thee,  
 To aid thy dreadful power in hell.

O give us power and devilish rage,  
 The next campaign our work to do,  
 That we with vigor may engage,  
 And blood and carnage well pursue.

O, 'tis a princely work indeed,  
 This work of kings is our delight,  
 To see ten thousand mortals bleed,  
 O, 'tis a most transporting fight!

To see the crimson rivers flow,  
 And fever'd limbs bespread around,  
 To see, in agonizing woe,  
 The dying victims bite the ground.

To hear their shrieks, their bitter cries,  
 Their yells, their roarings, and their groans,  
 Ascending up t' assault the skies,  
 Then languish down to dying means.

Hark,

Hark, the grand chorus, how it sounds,  
 O, what delightful notes we hear,  
 We'll make the vaults of heav'n resound,  
 And pierce with dread th' Almighty's ear.

*To the Editor of POLITICS for the PEOPLE.*

The following literary Curiosity being *out of Print*, I beg  
 Leave to crave a Place for it in your much read, and  
 deservedly admired Publication ; and am,

Your Pig of Observation,

GREGORY GRUNTER.

THE celebrated speech of *Gaffer Greybeard*, Esq. made  
 before Lords *Hogsmouth* and *Coldham*, to the *self-elected*  
*Corporation Hogs* of Coddletown, on his being chosen  
 Mayor of that ancient Borough.

His Worship having, in company with the two Repre-  
 sentatives, and the *hoggish* corporation of Coddletown, at-  
 tended the grand established worshipping styce, and heard  
 the privilege of Magistrates most learnedly set forth by  
*Deftor Fill-pot*, the head *Parson Pig* of the Borough, de-  
 termined on his return to *Hog's Hall*, to display his ora-  
 torical abilities, by making a brilliant speech on the occa-  
 sion—Having first made so profound an obeisance that his  
 ears touched the floor, he raised himself erect on his two  
*binder legs*, clapped his *fore paws* on the back of a chair,  
 cleared his organ pipe by a multiplicity of hems and ha's,  
 —and thus began ;

MY LORDS, and *hoggish* Brethren of the Corporation!

IT is with the most profound satisfaction, and unutter-  
 able pleasure, that I receive permission to address you on  
 this

this occasion.—What I have to offer is of the last importance—for our dearest *privileges*, our political *existence*, our magisterial *consequence*, the mystery of our *craft*, and the *emoluments* of office, under *this* glorious, ever-blessed, and most adorable Constitution, depend upon it—I *say depend upon it*. And I have to assure your Lordship, and you, my right worshipful *brother hogs* of the Corporation, that nothing but the most consummate wisdom, united with the strongest vigor, nothing but the extreme of *cunning* with the severity of *rigor* blended, can make the scale preponderate much longer in our favor. Those *groveling, grunting brutes* the *Swinish Multitude*, must be kept in awe; and we must continue, like the Columbian planters, to rule our slaves with a *rod of iron*, or soon, very soon, my noble Lords, those bright luminaries which decorate your lordly breasts, dignify this assembly, and shed their dazzling lustre all around, will most obscurely set in dismal shades of cimmerician darkness, and tenfold night! And all the noble orders, the *proud* and *polished* pillars of *Superb Society*, although their towering capitals now penetrate the clouds and scale the heavens; and their broad basis, firmly fixed upon the grisly backs of the *Vulgar Herd*, defy surrounding storms—yet they all shall be levelled with a stroke, laid in ruins, and the scattered fragments of their grandeur trampled upon by their *former supporters*, until vanishing, ‘like the baseless fabric of a vision,’ not a wreck shall be left behind!

There sits my worthy predecessor, that chair has the honor to support the excellent magistrate whom I succeed in office.—Long have I known you, my *hoggish brother*—Long have I admired you for your disinterestedness in Parliament, and the *justice* you administered to *Welsh Pigs* when on that circuit—The mighty feats you performed during

during your Mayoralty holds you forth as a pattern worthy of imitation.—You then shall be my pattern—my bright example—my *Solomon*! and in your steps will I tread—and whereas you chastised the *Swinish herd* with whips, I will chastise them with *scorpions*, and the weight of each particular and individual hair of my beard shall be more burdensome to them than that of your whole carcase. Permit me, however, my worthy predecessor, before I close, to offer some grateful incense to the manes of your deceased Sire, of *bacon memory*—Ah skilful *hog*! no more wilt thou feel the pulses or squeeze the purses of thy *Swinish patients*—Suffer me therefore as a tribute to thy talents and worth, to recite *one* instance of thy humanity.

This celebrated progenitor of my worthy predecessor, being called upon, my Lords and Brethren, at a certain time, to visit a distressed *Pig* of a patient in the country—the pulse was felt, the prescription written—but the poor and indigent *brute* could not muster a fee, and the Doctor expostulated in vain—at length casting his penetrating eyes around, he descried a *flitch of bacon* on the rack, seized with joy the *greasy prize*, and carried it in triumph home, turning with Spartan fortitude a deaf ear to the shrieks, and squeakings of a *numerous young family*, of *half-starved* pigs, whom he left behind to lament their sad and irreparable loss. Born for our use and service—'tis thus, my Lords and worthy Brethren, 'tis thus, my noble associates—'tis thus, we should ever treat the *vulgar herd*.—Let us therefore strive to emulate such an illustrious example, and depend upon it we shall soon receive a glorious reward—soon may some of us be distinguished as *Knights of the Pestle*; whilst others, after the next batch of Peers, may be hailed as *Lords of the Gallipot*, or shine as *Princes of Parchment*, in the brilliant circles of polished Society.

His

His Worship finished his oration amidst the unbounded applause of his auditory—returned his seat—partook of an entertainment, befitting such dignified guests, who all got as *drunk as pigs* of the *lower order*, upon the occasion—and the roof of Hog's Hall resounded with numerous repetitions of “ Success to our noble Selves.”

“ Pains and Penalties, Fines and Imprisonments, to those of the *swinish multitude*, who dare to think, or presume to speak”—and

“ Long live our present blessed, happy, and enviable Constitution.”

P.S. In order that the gentle Reader may discover the propriety of Gaffer Greybeard's speech, and observe the beauty of those rapturous flights upon the wings of anticipation, towards its close—it may not be unnecessary to inform them, that the body Corporate of Coddletown, is principally composed of *Law and Physic*.

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As the Attention of the Public is attracted to the approaching Day of national Humiliation, we conceive that we cannot more effectually oblige our numerous Readers than by laying before them the following Extracts from a Sermon preached on the last FAST DAY, by the Rev. J. H. WILLIAMS, Vicar of Wellbourn: a Sermon which the Misrepresentations of Bigotry obliged the Author to publish in his own Defence.

THE writer, who appears to be possessed of considerable talents; as well as of a manly and independent spirit, seems well apprized of the humiliating situation to which his order is in danger of being reduced, and firmly determined, for himself, at all events, to maintain the freedom and dignity of his profession. His sentiments on this subject,

ject, expressed in the preface to the sermon here published, well deserve attention.

Whilst the author considers it as a ground of exultation, that the church has lost it's ancient ceremonies, and it's ministers those sacred rights and privileges by which they were formerly able to govern the world, he laments, that they are now passing over into the contrary extreme, in which ' we shall see the priesthood, not bent to a posture of moderation and humility, but pressed to a situation of absolute dependance and menial degradation.' Pref. p. v.

' We shall observe the church converted into a mere engine of the state, and esteemed and rewarded by the state in proportion to its utility in this respect; and we shall behold it's ministers considered as so many tenants in vassalage to their feudal lord, who must be ready at all times to fall forth completely accoutred; and must crowd to the standard, regardless of the cause, their liege-duty being accounted sufficient to swallow up all other duties, whether moral, social, or divine.—And though some of us may think that we are more properly at our post, when we are standing upon the watch-tower, and giving notice of the approach of moral or religious foes, yet a crafty statesman soon contrives methods to bring us down into the field. By the allurements of honour and reward; by the delicate operation of character; by an artful and delusive connection of his own ambitious measures with the order of civil society, which our conscience tells us we are bound to support, he leaves us no neutral point to stand upon; he makes us combatants, often without our knowledge, and sometimes against our will.

' But there is nothing more mortifying to an ingenuous spirit, than to feel the supernal pressure of an arbitrary interference in matters which belong more peculiarly to ourselves;

(sives ; or in plainer words,—the not being suffered to do our own business in our own way. Now the whole and sole business of a parish-priest is this :—by the influence of his example, and the frequency and soundness of his instruction, to promote the general cause of virtue and religion, and to increase the number of real Christians and good men. This is the vineyard that he is hired to labour in, and this *labour is worthy of its hire* ; for a real Christian and a good man can never make a bad citizen. But in this even path of his vocation he is not always suffered to proceed. It is not sufficient in the opinion of his secular masters, that he strive to make men good Christians, and by consequence good citizens and good subjects ; he must form his flock into good politicians also ; he must teach them that secular orthodoxy, to which he himself has never subscribed ; he must shew them those *signs of the times* which he himself is unable to discern.

It will not be expected, that, with such sentiments, the writer of this sermon should bow his neck to the trammels of state policy ; or even that he should preserve a cautious silence, when the times and the occasion command to speak.

‘ If I could lift up my voice as a trumpet (says he) it should not be to call our enemies bad names, and give ourselves good ones, but to shew men their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins.’ With great energy and pathos, he points out, as good grounds of national humiliation, not the prevalence of sedition and heresy, but the decline of the genuine spirit of devotion and of humanity ; prayer without piety, and humiliation without benevolence.

The sermon concludes with an earnest protest against war in general, and the present war in particular. What Mr. W. offers on the latter subject is highly energetic, and, to every unprejudiced mind must, we should think, be irresistibly convincing. P. 22.

‘ But

‘ But this war, you will say, is both just and necessary—granted,—and why is it so granted?—Doubtless from a consideration of the political state of Europe abroad, and the turbulent state of the empire at home. No.—I must confess myself to be either so ignorant, or so unfortunate, as to want sufficient information to convince me of the former of these causes, and of the latter I know, I see, I feel just nothing at all. Let those speak who do. But I am convinced, that of this numerous audience, there is not one, who, if the decency of this place would allow him to break silence, could utter a syllable concerning it. Surely then, you will say, it must be from the general consent with which the war is supported, and the numerous voices which concur in its justification. No, by no means. In all public bodies, the opinion of the majority has a right, for the time, to direct the public actions of the whole. But it does not follow that the opinion of the majority at that time was true. He must have studied the human character with very little sagacity, and perused the page of history with a sleeping eye, who has not learned from thence that man is seldom a reflecting, but always an imitating creature; that public opinions are contagious, and that they act as an electrical shock upon as many as shall be in contact together; who, when the subtle fluid that convulsed them has descended into the earth, begin to look around them with astonishment, and to wonder how they could be so strangely and consentaneously disturbed.

‘ There was a time when a zeal, which was neither according to knowledge, or prudence, or charity, enflamed all Europe with an holy and unanimous desire of deluging Asia with blood. At such a time, when the Plain of Placentia was crouded by an audience of three hundred thousand zealots, who silently imbibed the furious infection from the lips of a frantic monk; or afterwards, when the crisis of poli-

political conviction (the conviction of passions and interests) had reached its height, and the market-place of Clermont shook with the universal exclamation, *It is the will of God, It is the will of God!* in such times, and in such assemblies as those, if any one inspired with the spirit of prudence, and of peace, had dared to oppose the still voice of reason to the tumultuous clamours of enthusiasm; if he had ventured to expostulate with the multitude in terms like these,—“O! Christians! whither is it you intend to go, or what is the purpose of your going? Stand still, and consider a moment, before you devote yourselves at the shrine of Moloch, and strike hands with the demon of desolation. The lands you are going to invade are no lands of yours, and the objects for which you are so eager to contend, are utterly unconnected with your own interest or prosperity. Think not your war holy, merely because it is declared against infidels, and remember, that infidels themselves, as such, deserve not your hatred, but your pity. Or if Christian meekness has entirely deserted your hearts, at least call pride and indignation to your assistance. Scorn to be the dupes of others artifice, or to make your dead carcases the stepping stones of their ambition. “Those haughty princes and potentates\* who have engaged you in this war, have other ends besides that of religion to answer, and care as little for your eternal as they do for your temporal welfare.”—‘Before he could have reached this period of his harangue, it is easy to conceive what must have been the fate of this ill-timed preacher of peace. His mangled limbs would have paid the forfeiture of his moderation, and his dying groans would have been absorbed in the thunder of unnumbered voices, *It is the will of God.* And yet, after all, in such a case as this, on which side would justice, piety, or truth, have lain?—Not on the side of multitudes.’

\* Vid. the Histories of the Holy War.

*To the Editor of POLITICS for the PEOPLE.*

Perhaps the inclosed Jeu d'Esprit of a country Journeyman Taylor may serve as a Defart to your HQGS, after a plentiful Feast on the Wash, with which you supply them. It came by chance into my hands, and you are welcome to insert, or to reject it.

Yours in Fraternity,

*PORKULUS.*

*A Descant on the approaching Fast, in a Dialogue between the King's Herald and a Free-thinker.*

- H.     **A** FAST! a FAST! my friends, is near at hand;  
           Sailors must fast by sea, soldiers by land.  
           All hands aloft, through all the realm abroad,  
           The KING commands,—Call each upon his GOD.
- F.T.   What can the matter be? Why this ado?  
           If I *must* fast, substantial reasons shew.
- H.     Substantial reasons! Here they are in store;  
           In number they amount to four times four.
1. Lord HOWE must fast because he did not fight,
  2. The Duke of YORK, because he's put to flight;
  3. Lord MOIRA and his crew, to say no more,  
       Because they could not gain the Gallic shore,  
       And lay the Frenchmen welt'ring in their gore. }
  4. The MINISTER must fast, because his schemes  
       Against the sons of freedom, prove mere dreams.
  5. Old BURKE must fast, since now the swinish race  
       Begin to think, and *Rights of Man* embrace.
  6. WURMSER must fast, because he cannot lay  
       Landau in ashes, and the Frenchmen slay.
  7. The Duke of BRUNSWICK too must fast and sigh,  
       Because he cannot murder, but must fly.
  8. Lord HOOD must fast, because Toulon is lost,  
       And all his expectations now are crost;
  9. Captain, and Admiral, and Commodore,  
       Because the Frenchmen they can beat no more.

10. The King must fast,—I mean the King of Spain,  
Because he can't enslave the Gauls again.
  11. The POPE must fast, because his gods of gold  
Are melted down into another mould.
  12. Placemen and Pensioners must fast—For why?  
To keep the *rabble* all in slavery.
  13. Bishops and Prebends! Deans and Vicars too  
Must cease for once their roasted meat to chew,  
Because the nation now begins to see  
That all their priestcraft is but mummery.
  14. Tradesmen must fast; and a sad reason why,  
Commerce is fled, and taxes very high :
  15. The Poor must fast ; their reason's very good;  
Enormous taxes rob them of their food.
  16. When honestmen have made their thoughts a book,  
Twelve jurymen convene, and o'er it look,  
Make it a libel, and the MEN must fast,  
And lie in prison, till the sun has past  
Through the twelve signs ;—yea, some say,  
They must transported be to Bot'ny Bay.
- F.T. Are these your reasons ?—let them fast that will,  
I'll never fast, *because I cannot kill.*  
'Tis true, the last three reasons you assign,  
Must all be borne with, till a better time.  
But for the rest, no man of *worth* and *spirit*  
Will fast while he can get roast beef and claret.  
Tyrants and Placemen ! fast, and lose your breath ;  
Bishops and Prebends ! starve yourselves to death.  
You Pitt and Burke, and a few\*\*\*\*\*more,  
May fast 'till this *unhappy war* is o'er.  
But honest countrymen ! I'd have you thrive,  
Eat your roast beef, and keep yourselves alive.  
Nature suffice,—then from your bounteous store  
Supply the wants of all the starving poor.  
This fast will better please the KING of KINGS,  
Than should you fast your guts to fiddlestrings.

# Politics for the People.

PART II.

N U M B E R V.

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1794.

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## *A FORM of PRAYER,*

*Humbly recommended to those whom it may concern.*

When caps among the crowd are thrown,  
Take that which fits you for your own.

## *A Prayer for the Use of all despotic Kings.*

IN our trouble we cannot call upon the Lord, or complain unto God ; He will not hear our voice, he will not suffer our complaints to come up before him, because we have rebelled against him ; and, in open defiance of all the laws of his government, have delighted in blood, and spread desolation over the world ; we have slain the subjects of his kingdom, we have laid waste the work of his hands ; we have oppressed the poor, we have subdued the world, and brought the necks of its inhabitants into the yoke of our bondage. Therefore, O thou great monarch

monarch of the infernal regions! whose throne is established in darkness; who hast the souls of departed kings, writhing in agonies, before thee, and ministering unto thee in yells of despair and shrieks of woe! Thou who hast the hearts of all kings upon earth, and turnest them as rivers of water, we yield ourselves to thy laws, we devote ourselves entirely to thee; we enlist under thy banner, and engage with our whole hearts in thy service. Blood and carnage is our delight, slaughter and destruction is the work of our hands; it is the work we will pursue while we have a being. O! assist us with all the powers of infernal fury; send thy dæmons abroad over all the earth, and inspire all our agents, our generals, and our soldiers, with all the cruel rage, madness, and malevolence, which is the support of thy kingdom! O! enliven and invigorate our powers, and support us in the work which is before us! Then will we wallow in blood, and the putrifying carcases of men shall be as incense, and a sweet smelling favor before us! O, grant us our request, and we will offer up human sacrifices unto thee perpetually.

We will offer up thousands, and tens of thousands of the victims of our wrath unto thee; we will destroy the works of the hands of thy grand enemy, and hurl them down to thy kingdom. We will depopulate the earth; we will lay waste the cities and nations thereof, we will oppress the inhabitants which we cannot destroy, we will grind the face of the poor, and misery shall spread over the face of the earth, as the waters cover the sea.

Now we ascribe unto thee, O Beelzebub; glory, power, and dominion, for ever and ever. Amen.

*A Prayer*

*A Prayer for the Use of the Bishops and Clergy  
in all despotic Kingdoms.*

O Thou mighty Prince of Darkness ! Great and terrible Potentate of the dreary regions of eternal howling ! we, thy faithful servants, approach thee with prayers and supplications, in full confidence that thou wilt answer our requests. We have done thy work, we have been faithful in thy cause, we have strengthened the hands of kings, and enabled them to support the sceptre of tyranny, to oppress mankind, and spread destruction over the world. We have been the supporters of thrones, and all the powers of thy kingdom upon the earth, though we have dedicated our prayers and our solemn services to thy grand enemy. Thou knowest that our hearts were thine, and that we only mocked Omnipotence. Thou knowest that by this means we have enlarged the borders of thy kingdom, and gained innumerable subjects over to thee ; we have slaughtered thine enemies, the saints ; all the persecutions the world has known, have been under our direction and patronage. No blood has been spilt, no tyranny supported, no misery in the world in which we have not engaged. We have given energy to the pangs of dying men ! We have invented torments for the suffering victims of our vengeance ! We are now determined to prosecute the work of thy infernal kingdom ; and for this purpose we humbly implore thy mighty aids ; we beseech thee to support all kings upon their thrones against the struggles of liberty and virtue ; increase their power, and enable them to crush and annihilate every thing that is virtuous, noble, and excellent in man ; to eradicate every trace of their Maker's image, and make them fit subjects for thy kingdom : and, if thou canst devise any  
garb,

garb, any appearance of sanctity, which we have not put on, or any solemn rites or ceremonies which we have not adopted, to strength the powers of hypocrisy and dissimulation; to enable us to carry on thy work more successfully, and promote the interest of thy kingdom.

O: direct us and guide us in all those things, for thy great name's sake! Now, unto thee be ascribed majesty, dominion, and power now and for ever more. Amen.

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*A Prayer for the People who live under despotic Governments.*

O Thou Supreme Governor of the Universe! to whom shall we come but unto thee, our Creator, our Father and our God! In our afflictions we will call upon thee, the Lord; we will lay our complaints before thee, and pour our sorrows into the bosom of our God. We are sore afflicted, and shall we not cry unto thee? Misery and wretchedness cover the face of the earth as the waters cover the sea. Tyrants, athirst for blood, ravage the world, and spread desolation over the nations. Like beasts of prey, they delight in carnage, they devour the cities, and lay waste the habitations of the people, the plains are covered with the carcases of the dead, and the vallies are drenched with rivers of blood. The bitter groans, the shrieks of agony of the thousands that roll in the convulsive pangs of torment and of death, pierce the skies, and cry unto thee for vengeance upon their destroyers. The voice of blood is up unto thee, the fury of hell is abroad in the earth, the rage of devils infest our palaces, the poor cry in our streets for bread, and the righteous

righteous of the earth are in bondage ; the world groaneth under the weight of oppression, and there is none to help them but thee, O God. How long, O Lord, how long wilt thou bear with the wickedness of the sons of violence, the ambitious desolators of the earth, who sitting in the high places, and, being men, vaunt themselves of that power which belongs to Omnipotence. They speak the word, and thousands perish before them. Is not the measure of their iniquities yet filled up ? How long wilt thou delay vengeance ? Hear our prayer, O thou God of mercy and compassion ! Pity the wretched state of thy creatures, and save man from destruction. O ! stay the fury of those who gorge themselves with blood, and indulge themselves in the lust of their power, who devour the morsel of the poor, and wax fat with the labour of the people ; who mock at our calamities, and insult us in our misery. O wrest the sword of destruction out of their hand, and redeem the world from oppression ; the power of tyranny and despotism ! O teach thy people wisdom ; may they get knowledge, that they may see their true interest for time and for eternity ; may they see and know that we are all brethren, the children, the family, of one common benevolent Parent ; may they rise to the dignity of men ; may they see with horror and detestation, the ravages and devastations of tyrants, and hurl despotism from the throne of power ; may they exert those powers which belong to men, for the recovery of that freedom and liberty which is the gift of Nature, which is the gift of God, and which is sacred to man, which dignifies and ennobles his nature, and makes him the image of his Creator.

Hear us, we beseech thee, O thou who rulest in the heavens, who art the great Arbitrator of all Events, who  
art

art the Sovereign of the Universe, and the common and benevolent Parent of all thy creatures ! O hear us and answer us, in these our requests. O save the poor from the hand of the oppressor ; release the captives, and deliver the world from bondage ; suffer all men to adore and worship thee, and pour out the pious effusions of their souls before thee, in the way their consciences dictate, and thou art willing to accept, none daring to molest them, or make them afraid : and, may the poor enjoy their hard-earned comforts, none daring to snatch the scanty morsel from their mouths.

We offer up these our humble supplications unto thee, in the name, and through the mediation of Jesus Christ our Saviour, through whom we ascribe unto thee, &c.

### *Pitiable Situation of PRINCES.*

IT is a common and vulgar observation, that the state of a KING is greatly to be pitied ; all his actions are hemmed in with anxiety and doubt. He cannot, like other men, indulge the gay and careless hilarity of his mind ; but is obliged, if, of an honest and conscientious disposition, to consider *how necessary the time, which he is thoughtlessly giving to amusement, may be devoted to the relief of worthy and oppressed individuals !* How many benefits might, in a thousand instances, result from his interference ! How many a guileless and undesigning heart might be cheered by his justice.—The conduct of KINGS is the subject of the severest criticism, which the very nature of their situation disables them to encounter. A thousand things are done in their name in which they have

have no participation ; a thousand stories are so disguised to their ear as to render the truth absolutely undiscoverable ; and thus a KING is the general scape-goat, *loaded with the offences of all his dependants !*

No picture can be more just, judicious, and humane, than that which is thus exhibited. Why then should the advocates of antimonarchical principles be considered as the enemies of KINGS ? They would relieve them from a load which would sink the British navy—(*too much honour*) they would exalt them to the happy and enviable condition of private individuals. In reality, nothing can be more iniquitous and cruel than to impose upon a man the *unnatural office of a KING*. It is not less *inequitable* towards him that exercises it than towards them who are subjected to it.

KINGS, if they understood their own interests, would be the first to espouse these principles ;—the most eager to listen to them—the most fervent in expressing their esteem of the men who undertake to impress upon their species this important truth.

#### POLITICAL JUSTICE.

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*Extract from Doddington's Diary.*

MR. Doddington, in his Diary, relates a conference between Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle, in the year 1755, which proves how a certain nation has been gulled, and to what extent a *certain* family must have been enriched since its establishment in a *certain prosperous* island.

The Duke mumbled, ‘ that the Saxon and Bavarian subsidies were offered and pressed, but there was nothing  
‘ done

‘ done in them ;—that the Hessian was perfected, but the  
 ‘ Russian was not concluded. When his Grace dwelt so  
 ‘ much on the K—g’s *honour*, Mr. Pitt asked him what,  
 ‘ if out of the *fifteen million which his Majesty had saved*,  
 ‘ he should give his cousin of Hesse 100,000l. and the  
 ‘ Czarina 150,000l. to be off from those bad bargains,  
 ‘ and not suffer suggestions so dangerous to his own quiet  
 ‘ and the safety of his family to be thrown out, which would  
 ‘ and must be insisted on in a debate of this nature, where  
 ‘ would be the harm of it?—The Duke had nothing to  
 ‘ say, but desired they might talk it over again with the  
 ‘ Chancellor. Mr. Pitt replied, he was at their com-  
 ‘ mand ; but that nothing could alter his opinion.’

It appears evident, from the above faithful extract, that the constitution in its practical operations under the Br—w—ck family, is as propitious to kings as it is to the people, perhaps more so ; for the royal purse certainly does not *decrease*, as the public burdens *increase* ; since every addition to the revenue naturally adds to the revenue and patronage of the c—wn.

An accurate, but unfortunate author, whose writings have attracted the notice of our delicate, vigilant, and susceptible g—v—m—t, applies the following pertinent and close observations to the preceding extracts :

‘ Thirty-seven years have now elapsed (says he) since  
 ‘ G——c II. had saved *fifteen millions sterling from the ci-  
 ‘ vil list*. It has been said, that a sum at five per cent.  
 ‘ at compound interest, doubles itself in fourteen years,  
 ‘ but the calculation is not quite exact ; and where a to-  
 ‘ pic so delicate as the civil list is concerned, the most  
 ‘ scrupulous accuracy should be observed, and therefore  
 ‘ it is necessary to premise, that in fourteen years, one  
 ‘ hundred pounds produce about a fiftieth part less than a  
 ‘ second

‘ second hundred ; that is to say, 971, 18s. 8d. Now  
 ‘ at this rate, these fifteen millions in thirty-seven years,  
 ‘ would have multiplied to more than ninety-one mil-  
 ‘ lion and a half.

‘ It is true, indeed, as Mr. Doddington observes, that  
 ‘ we are ignorant what became of this money, how or  
 ‘ where it was applied ; but this we know, no part of it  
 ‘ was ever applied to the service or relief of the people of  
 ‘ this country, from whom it was derived. *We have*  
 ‘ *since paid several arrears into which the civil list had*  
 ‘ *fallen, and 100,000l. in the superabundant generosity*  
 ‘ *of Parliament, have been added to the royal salary ;*  
 ‘ When, at the same time the nation has been borrowing  
 ‘ money to pay that sum, *nominally*, at three and a half or  
 ‘ four per cent. but, in *reality*, at six or eight per cent.  
 ‘ Hence, properly applied, the fifteen million sterling of  
 ‘ G——e II. instead of increasing to ninety-one million  
 ‘ and a half, would, at seven and a half per cent. have  
 ‘ extended to nearly one hundred and thirty millions se-  
 ‘ ven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which would  
 ‘ at present buy out more than one half of our national  
 ‘ debt, and save the country from an annual burthen of  
 ‘ four millions and a half.’

---

*Sincerity of Courts.*

HENRY the Third of France dispatched Monsieur  
 Bellievre to England, as his Ambassador Extraordi-  
 nary, to interpose his royal credit with Queen Elizabeth,  
 for the life of Mary Queen of Scots ; and great conse-  
 quences were expected from so much zeal and ostentation.  
 Nothing

Nothing was more strong, elaborate, and pathetic than M. Bellicvre's speech on that occasion. All the topics of mercy, consanguinity, charity, forgiveness, sacredness of the blood of princes, &c. &c. were, with the utmost earnestness, exhausted. The French King's pious concern for his sister-in-law, was dressed up in the most moving colours, and strong arguments were drawn from the safety and reputation of Queen Elizabeth herself. Nothing could be more dolorous than the interview, and yet, *the Ambassador had private orders to solicit the immediate execution of Queen Mary, and alledged privately the same argument for her death, which publicly he had used for her life!* — This is state sincerity!

### USES OF THE PRESENT WAR:

1. **I**T has been contended by the most profound politicians, that during a long peace, the human species are apt to increase too rapidly, and that in addition to all the causes, which occur in the bills of mortality, even with now and then the assistance of a plague, a war is absolutely necessary in order to thin their numbers, and reduce them to a due proportion. That in this country we were increasing too rapidly, is, I think, sufficiently proved by the rage which has for some years past every where prevailed for building, and by which this metropolis has been increased to such an enormous size. That the war has also been successful to thinning our numbers, is, I think, proved by the number of brave fellows, who have gone at different times to the Continent, not a great many of whom I am told, though we have had no returns of the killed,  
are

are likely to return : In this respect then it must be owned, that the war has been of important service.

2. Too long a course of prosperity has always been found hurtful to the morals and piety of a people, and to have a tendency to render them luxurious and prophane. Such was the case with us from the flourishing state, to which our commerce and manufactures had arrived : The progress of every species of vice and infidelity, had kept pace with the growth of our opulence. The present war, by cutting off the sources of our wealth, it is to be hoped, will lead to a reformation of manners. People are always apt to be religious, under the pressure of affliction : If the burdens and calamities of the war, do not induce us to pray, they will at least compel us to fast. Besides what an ample field has the war opened for the charity of the rich, by the distresses which it has occasioned to the lower orders. What a glorious opportunity does it afford to the nation at large, to exercise the three Christian virtues of patience, faith, and hope, in the most trying situation !

3. Previous to the war, a spirit of discontent had begun to show itself in the country : Murmurs were heard against certain abuses, and the demand of reform, was loudly echoed from different quarters. It is probable, that had peace continued, the demand would have become so universal, as to enforce a necessity of compliance, and thus a door would have been opened for innovation, and all its dreadful consequences. This danger, however, Ministers artfully contrived to parry off, by exciting a seasonable alarm in the country, and then, before the nation had time to cool, following it up with the measure of the present war. They wisely judged that the attention of the nation would be diverted from the immediate consideration of abuses at home, by the apprehensions of an  
immediate

impending danger from abroad, and that afterwards the desire of a remedy to these abuses, would be more weak in proportion, as the spirit of the nation was broken by the pressure of actual suffering. The success of their policy, has hitherto proved how justly they reasoned upon that occasion.

4. But Ministers had a farther end in view, than merely to prevent any present innovation. They brought about the war in order to ensure our future attachment, as well as that of our posterity, to the government of this country as now administered. It is remarked, as a principle of human nature, that our attachment to any object is increased in proportion to the price which it has originally cost, or the degree of suffering, and difficulty by which it has been maintained : how great then must be our attachment to the present system of administration. And how greatly will our posterity feel indebted to us for the blessings of our constitution, as improved by the present Ministers, blessings which to them may truly be called invaluable, as they never will be able to pay their price, namely, that immense national debt, to which the war must make such large additions.

Thus the present war is not only calculated to guard against the consequences of immediate innovation, but likewise to render a reform at any future period altogether impossible, or at least attended with much more difficulty, and hazard, than it would have been before.

Such, Sir, are the important uses, which I am convinced Ministers had in view, and which, though they have had the modesty not to alledge in their own justification, I trust from your known candour, that you will be induced to lay before the public.

A NEW

## A NEW SONG.

IN the good town of Edinburgh a woeful thing befel, Sir,  
 And if you'll attend to me the occasion I will tell, Sir,  
 The thing which happen'd there made each pensioner to wonder,  
 And turn up his eyes as a duck does at thunder.

*Bow wow wow, down with the Swine and Rabble, bow wow, wow.*

A set of hair-brain'd fellows met upon a daring plan, Sir,  
 No less than to assert the Rights and Liberties of Man, Sir;  
 But no man of sense would e'er listen to their babble, Sir,  
 For it was almost all made up of *the wretches and the rabble*, Sir.

To reform our Constitution the same fellows did intend, Sir,  
 When every placeman knows this truth, that 'tis too good to mend,  
 Sir;

And the magistrates have clearly prov'd their infamous intention,  
 Or else they never would have dar'd to call themselves Convention.

Still further to evince their horrible design, Sir,  
 They call'd each other Citizen, and that increas'd their crime, Sir;  
 When if their conversation to their nature they would suit, Sir,  
 Instead of Fellow Citizen, they'd grunt out Brother Brute, Sir,

Nay more, in every thing they did, to seem as bad as France, Sir,  
 They fram'd their committees of instruction and finance, Sir.  
 But if instruction were to spread, how horrible is that, Sir;  
 Good Lord! why the *Rabble* might begin to smell a rat, Sir.

Then they said, that a man too, in every rank or station,  
 Had a right by his vote to a share in legislation;  
 And that when from the pockets of the poor the money went, Sir,  
 They had a right to ask in what manner it was spent, Sir.

Then they said that our taxes were become a grievous weight, Sir,  
 And that sinecure places did no service to the state, Sir;  
 But if it be but *justice* to pay men for doing something, Sir,  
 'Tis generous, I'm sure, to pay men for doing *nothing*, Sir.

Then

Then they wish'd that all enmity 'twixt nations should be o'er,  
 Sir,  
 That the sword should be sheath'd, and that blood be shed no more,  
 Sir.  
 But what man in oppression could possibly go further, Sir,  
 Than to take away the bread of those who only live by murder,  
 Sir?

So mad at last were they become, that I am almost sure, Sir,  
 They thought that the *rich* were no better than the poor, Sir,  
 Till at length they had scatter'd quite a panic through the city,  
 By appointing *four* men on a secret committee.

The magistrates arose at this, and joining one and all, Sir,  
 With all the myrmidons of pow'r march'd off to attack the Hall,  
 Sir,  
 Though some prophanely whisper, that on entering the room, Sir,  
 These tools of power shed an unsavory perfume, Sir.

Indictments on each friend of freedom follow'd close behind, Sir;  
 The judges very kindly taught the jury what to find, Sir;  
 Though this indeed was useless, for I'll venture to assure ye,  
 They had taken care enough before to pack a proper jury.

*Objections were repell'd* brought in any form or shape, Sir,  
 For sedition was the crime you know, and not a simple rape, Sir,  
 And at length this dire fancy for *reform* to allay, Sir,  
 They decreed a trip for fourteen years to Botany Bay, Sir,

Thus every method has been try'd to quench this daring spirit,  
 Sir.  
 May all the magistrates and judges meet with that reward they  
 merit, Sir,  
 For each method they've pursu'd that an *honest placeman* ought,  
 Sir,  
 And if poor Freedom be not stabb'd, I'm sure 'tis not their fault,  
 Sir.

*Marat's*

*Marat's Descent to the Shades.*

THE infernal realms, in wild affright, receive his spotted  
 shade,  
 Aristocratic imps and fiends were horribly dismay'd ;  
 They fear'd his democratic rage might all distinction level,  
 Make Hell with loud Ça Ira's ring, and *Guillotine the*  
*Devil.*

---

*On the Fast, for Success to our Arms.*

To fast for our sins—why that's decent enough ;  
 For success on our arms—is most impious stuff ;  
 It may help the digestion, the stomach set right,  
 But it never can give us a stomach to fight.

*The Swinish Multitude.*

---

HIS Majesty's Proclamation admits the transgression  
 of the people, which of course includes both Parliaments,  
 and his Privy and Cabinet Council. But, consistent with  
 the doctrine of the Alarmists, and the lives-and-fortune  
 Gentlemen,—how can they prostrate themselves before  
 the Divinity, and repent ? For, repentance leads to re-  
 formation, and reformation, at this crisis, we are assured,  
 is dangerous in the extreme, as being favourable to those  
*non-entities*, the English *Jacobins*.

*Petition*

## P E T I T I O N.

FROM all the mischiefs I shall mention here,  
 Great God defend us in the present year,  
 From tyrants leagued, and those detested things,  
 That love the race of nobles and their kings ;  
 From those who for self-ends would all betray,  
 From all who *curse* and *flatter* when they PRAY ;  
 From those who hold it merit to excel  
 In all the murd'rous despotism of hell ;  
 From those vile rulers who would in chains us hold,  
 From Kings who'd *sell their souls and God* for gold.  
 From those curs'd despots and their murd'rous crew,  
 Who would their hands in Gallic blood imbrue ;  
 From those who all religious bonds decry,  
 And boldly dare the eternal God defy ;  
 Defend us Heav'n, and to the world restore  
 Freedom and peace, and we will ask no more.

---

*Anecdote.*

A few days ago, as a Beggar in Rag Fair was picking something off his clothes, he was thus angrily accosted by one of Mr. Reeves's associators :—" You dirty rascal, what are you about ?"—" Nothing, Sir, but guillotining a few Aristocrats."—" Aristocrats ! you seditious scoundrel ! how dare you call such vermin Aristocrats ?"—" I can't find a better name for them, an' please your honour, for they always prey upon the poor."

# Politics for the People.

PART II.

NUMBER VI.

Price Two-pence.

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1794.

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## BIOGRAPHY.

MR. EDITOR,

As some of the Swinish Multitude, who, in an hour of popular frenzy, plunged themselves into the *polluted stream* of loyalty, have happily escaped from the vortex of destruction, and recovered their senses; and as many others are daily reaching the *shore of reason*, and panting for the enjoyment of the RIGHTS of MAN and COMMON SENSE, the following Biographical Sketch of Mr. R—ves, and Reflections on the Knaves-acre Association, may prove acceptable.

Yours, &c.

ONE OF THE HERD.

THE *immediate* birth and parentage of this patriot-citizen are enveloped in mysterious darkness, although he can trace his genealogy from the remotest ages of antiquity, being descended from the most ancient and respectable of all families;—the SANS CULOTTES. It must be confessed, indeed

indeed, that his late conduct does not demonstrate any very great affection or veneration for his ancestors ; but should the family ever rise to that *proud equality*, to which, in a neighbouring nation, *it aspires*, he possesses a happy accommodating venality, that cannot fail to ensure him impunity and pardon from his *relations*.

Mr. R—ves appears to have made his *debut* in the political world, at the time of Admiral Keppel's trial, when he composed an elegant panegyrical poem, in honour of that gallant officer. Poetry delights in fiction, and, at that period, our poet indulged his muse in the bitterest invectives against his M—j—ty's g—v—m—t, for which heinous transgression he has since made liberal compensation, by a contrary example of well-timed and most fervent loyalty.

The noble minded H—k—b—ry is known, whenever it suits his purpose to exert it, to inherit the happiest and most extraordinary genius, in working metamorphoses on the human mind. He has, moreover, a kind of peculiar instinct, a *manual touch*, whereby he instantly discovers *those pliant supple dispositions*, that any ways sympathise with his own : By this sympathy, however far asunder their original distance, these congenial souls were drawn together, and by the power of a *preparation*, since known by the name of *Pitt's Specific*, they were united in one common cause. The times were deemed critical, and critical services were required. A very few minutes conversation was all sufficient to explain mutual intentions, and the usual forms of delicacy and etiquette complied with, under the all puissant recommendation of his noble patron, our *poetical SANS CULOTTES*, (for such then, he almost literally was) was introduced to the m—t—r as a *perfect master of all work ; ready for any service ;* only  
subject

subject to one restriction ; he never served *gratis* : The journeyman is worthy of his hire. It was neither expected or desired that he should ; the PATRIOTISM of Mr. R—ves, like that of his MASTER, derives recruited zeal in proportion to the rewards bestowed on it, and when wages are abundantly paid, servility is more certain. His pulse was accordingly felt, and it beat in perfect unison ; so that now no longer a SANS CULOTTES, he was at once put in possession of an income, the fruit of anticipated services, to the amount of 2000l. per annum ; and, amongst other *precious sinecures that he holds*, he is Chief Justice of Newfoundland, the salary of which is said to be *only* 1000l. per annum, although there cannot be any duties annexed to this appointment, requiring a local residence, since he himself is so ACTIVELY and so HONORABLY employed in the *administration of justice at home*.

A gentleman, thus respectable in fortune and connections, independent of the nation, if not of the court, was in every point of view a fit arbiter of the property and liberties of Englishmen, and peculiarly qualified to defend them against the so much dreaded violence of levellers and republicans. Our MINISTER, therefore, of implicit confidence, gave him his cue. The bait well gilded was thrown out. John Bull, as usual, bit freely : the Crown and Anchor became the focus of loyalty ; within that centre all the *confidence* of the kingdom was collected, and Mr. R—ves's association gave birth to those patriotic prodigies we have witnessed ; those ALIEN BILLS, and TREASONABLE BILLS ; to those *seasonable and humane prosecutions* against Independent Clergymen, Barristers, Patriotic Booksellers, Printers, and even Bill-stickers, &c. whereby the press is wisely monopolized by two branches of the legislature, to the exclusion of the other, and the crown

crown acquires an addition of prerogative, that must for ever secure it against all danger of Plebeian invasion. He is the idol of P—tt, the *friend* of H—kib-ry: with theirs, his name will be transmitted *pure* to posterity.

Mr. R—ves, to his other tried virtues, adds the most amiable candour and untainted veracity. He declares ‘that he is *perfectly satisfied* with the state of the nation, and that every other person *ought* to be satisfied also;’ yet, if it be fair to judge from the London Gazette, the Gazette de la Cour, of *sacred authority*, from the tremendous list of bankruptcies there announced, a part of the mercantile world *is not* perfectly satisfied with the ACTUAL STATE OF THINGS; but when a *gentleman*, no less distinguished for the consistency and independence of his principles, than for the *pure nature* and extent of his services, thus deigns to announce *his* satisfaction, it would be equal heresy and ingratitude in the people, were they heard to murmur or repine.—In his accurate and impartial definition of the laws; in the energy and vigour he has infused into our councils; correcting popular errors; crushing the sedition of disaffected reformers—for his *virtuous* example in receiving and propagating anonymous calumny as a ground of criminal prosecution; and calling forth all the latent patriotism in the country, still further to extend the increased and increasing influence of the c—wn, as solemnly recognized by a vote of parliament, he also extorts our *confidence* and *gratitude*; and it must reflect immortal glory on the present age:—the bright example will flourish a perennial monument of the *sensibility, consistency, and wisdom* of Englishmen, that in the year 1793 of the Christian æra, J—n R—ves, *Esquire*, wrought a total change in our national character—that it was a hireling I-f—m-r  
who

who modified, and gave an entire new bias to the political system of the B—t—sh G—v—m—t.

Having thus sketched the out-lines of a character as *d—p—c—ble* and *contemptible* as it is possible to imagine, let us turn our attention to the *disinterested* and *patriotic* society at the Crown and Anchor, raised and fostered up by his paternal care—for the purpose of rendering the edifice of our government, *still more beautiful and strikingly grand*, by the addition of a fourth department to the state, consisting of placemen and pensioners, parish officers, and police magistrates, and other equally *independent* friends of the Court, arrogating to themselves the constitutional jurisdiction of licensing the press, denouncing to the S—c—t—ry of S—te, or to *the Att—n— G—n—r—l*, all publications that do not exactly quadrate with those doctrines which it is their *duty* and *interest* to promulgate; and the mode that they adopt, in order to enforce these *truths*, cannot be applauded with more gratitude than it deserves, and which in justice, it must be acknowledged, hitherto to have received. They publish their own doctrines, as **ORTHODOX LAW**, although asserting the antient and once exploded maxim, in England, of **PASSIVE OBEDIENCE** and **DIVINE RIGHT**, and therefore repugnant to the spirit of KING WILLIAM's *glorious* and *immortal* **REVOLUTION**, which, notwithstanding, they profess to revere, as the basis of their political creed, and they circulate these loyal pamphlets of their applause, with a zeal and expence (*doubtless at their own charge*) that reflect infinite honour on their liberality; while, at the same time, their candour is equally admirable, prosecuting every bookseller, printer, or hawker, who is daring or *ignorant* enough, to publish doctrines  
mili-

militating against their own. '*Audi alteram partem*,' was formerly reckoned an essential principle, or rather an integral part of argumentative discussion, indispenfibly requisite to the discovery of truth ; but this *worthy* association not finding it convenient to their patriotic views, have laid it aside lest it might enlighten and raise the SWINISH MULTITUDE, above the level of their native ignorance, and hence they have prohibited all books, whose doctrines do not tally with those protected by themselves, under the most terrible penalties of FINE, PILLORY, and IMPRISONMENT. From this *just, prudent, and constitutional* monopoly, by which, publicans are also instructed in their duty :—what newspapers they must allow their customers to read, and what conversation they are permitted to hold ; COMMON SENSE, TRUTH, and the RIGHTS of MAN, are banished from our houses, and the LORD's ANOINTED substituted in their place.

What a consummate politician is JOHN BULL, happy in his *implicit confidence*, always in the *right box*. Well indeed may he rejoice, when now, as a recompense for the surrender of COMMON SENSE and the RIGHTS of MAN, he gains in exchange, the immediate and tutelary protection of the LORD's ANOINTED, G——e III.

But, to be serious, persecution of opinions is always ineffectual, and sometimes dangerous. Attempts to modify the mind of one person, ~~agreeably~~ with the fancy or caprice of another, must be ever vain and nugatory. Persecute or torture, as you will, it will in the end prevail. The capital crimes of two British martyrs, Ridley and Latimer, consisted in circulating English Bibles ; and when, for this *abominable heresy*, these two champions of Protestantism were burnt at Oxford, one of them ex-  
hortcd

horted the other as follows : ' Brother, be of good comfort, our persecutors will be disappointed ; for, our sufferings will lead men to enquire into that for which we suffered ; and this fire will light such a candle in England, as I trust in God's grace, will never be extinguished.'

It is needless to observe, that Popery was very soon afterward destroyed in Britain, that the Bible still continues to be read in English in all our churches, and that the religion of those two inflexible martyrs, is still our national faith. Have we not as good reason to believe that the present system of unconstitutional persecution will terminate in establishing the *Rights of Man* and *Common Sense* amongst us ; seeing persecution is and ever will be the parent and nurse of enthusiasm?

### POLITICAL CONSISTENCY.

Mr. EDITOR,

Having been long in the habit of reading Political Tracts, I have been lately much struck with the *inconsistency* and *apostacy* of some of my former favourite authors. I am, therefore, if you give me encouragement, by inserting this in your publication, determined occasionally to expose them ; and I shall begin with Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG.

Your constant Reader,

A LEARNED PIG.

In the Annals of Agriculture, I find the following Letter and Queries from Mr. Capel Lofft to Mr. Young :

" DEAR SIR,

" YOU have often, and with success, invited discussions in the Annals, on subjects immediately or consequentially

This middle class includes all the inferior gentry, the yeomanry, and farmers, with nearly the whole of the manufacturing and commercial men in the kingdom. This class, then, constitutes the body of the state, in the aggregate of its numbers and property ; and if the crown and aristocracy, or head of the state, will obstinately persist in refusing to legislate, in union with the body, where will be the barrier of their defence, from the lowest members, in any extremity of danger and public convulsion, which the history of mankind, in all ages and nations, teaches us, are almost periodically to be expected, as the blazing eccentric comets of the political hemisphere ? What an awful warning our neighbour France presents to the towering pride of the great men of the earth : the monarchy and nobility of that kingdom, the most powerful and numerous in the world, could not *resist* the shock of contending political elements, but have now fallen victims to the want of union and concord with the middle class, or body of the state."

*" Replies to Mr. Lofft's Queries,*

" 1. I think there are at least, one million of agriculturists in this island (including labourers, to whom I presume, the query extends) without a vote in the choice of representatives : these, with their families, amount to more than five millions of souls, or above the one half of the whole population of the country.

" 2. This deficiency of representation, has certainly the effect of diminishing the consequence of that which, in common sense and policy, ought to be the first concern in the state ; it follows then that the real interests of the agriculture of the kingdom, are very little regarded or known in the House of Commons,

" 3. As

" 3. As the House of Commons is *now* constituted, it matters not to the agriculturists of this nation, whether the duration of parliaments be *septennial* or *septuagesimal*; perhaps it would be better if there were none at all.

" 4. The interests of agriculture are certainly not at all understood and regarded in parliament: witness the duration of tythes, the influence they and the manorial claims have in preventing the inclosures of commons, now utterly useless to the community; also the enormous expence and trouble of applications to parliament for that purpose: in addition to these discouragements, sufficient of themselves to proscribe and destroy the plough, as if it were an implement of no use or value; has not an act been recently passed, by which the American farmer, with very trifling rents and taxes, and tythe free, is allowed a competition with the British farmer in his own markets, though he is crippled as above stated. Yet the British farmer is no advocate for a monopoly, and is ready to allow, that the people of England have a good right to be supplied with corn at a moderate price; take off his shackles, and the British farmer will have the advantage in competition with any farmer upon earth, with a free corn trade. Perhaps the best answer to this query may be given by stating these plain facts: an annual import of foreign grain to a vast amount:—ten millions of acres of uncultivated land, waiting only for the *fiat* of the legislature, to enable Ceres, with her golden harvests, to triumph over the chaotic reign of heath, and whins, and mutton-bones. If the senators of Great Britain did not love *racing* and *fox-hunting* better than the *plough*, could these things exist? I am here reminded of our good Editor's remarks on the poor peasants of Laincourt, who were  
actually

actually inclosing and cultivating the Duke's wastes for their own use.—[*See his Travels in France, p. 266.*]

“ 5. It is very probable, that a prudent reform, in the election and duration of parliaments, would secure to the interests of agriculture their proper attention.

“ 6. Let the house of commons consist of five hundred representatives for the counties of this island; the number for each county to be proportioned to its extent and population.

“ 7. Let every parish, or small district in the county, send a deputy resident in such parish or small district, to the county town, the deputy to be chosen by *ballot*, in a meeting of the men of the parish or district above the age of twenty-one years. No person to declare himself a candidate for this office, or to canvass, bribe, or otherwise endeavour to obtain votes, on pain of imprisonment, and confiscation of effects. The deputies of the parishes or districts, thus elected, to assemble as soon as possible, after their election at the county town, to proceed to the election of the representatives for their county in parliament. Let the deputies, when assembled, chuse a president, the president immediately nominating, with consent of the assembly, a committee of six deputies, who, after such nomination, shall *out* of the place of assembly, make out a list of such of the said deputies of parishes, or districts, as they deem most proper to represent the county in parliament; the president to read over the list to the assembly, after which, each person on the list shall be severally voted for by *ballot*. On all occasions of equality of number, &c. &c.

“ 8. The duration of parliaments to be triennial.

“ 9. *All seasons are fit for reform*, and the present is particularly so: a wise man, in prosperity, will ever endeavour to secure himself against the return of adversity, in

the

the best manner he is able; and will not, by a dangerous security, delay a salutary design.

In this letter, though we may not agree with Mr. Young in all his ideas, yet we discover a mind apparently fully convinced of the absolute necessity of a speedy and effectual reform in the representative system. How strange must it appear to a candid and impartial observer, to find this same writer, in a late publication, using the following language,

“ It is mere theory to suppose that the House of Commons purports to be the representatives of the people, if by representation is meant choice. Being once chosen by the few, they represent the many. They purport to be nothing more than what they are; and they are nothing more than this—Men sitting in a Senate, and forming a third branch of the legislature, chosen by certain bodies, who, by the Constitution, have the privilege of electing them. They may be accurately described without using the word, or referring to the idea of, Representation. To call them the Representatives of the People, is a very inaccurate mode of expression; they ought never to be called by any other name than the House of Commons, to distinguish them from the House of Lords. If they were really the Representatives of the People, they might in theory be good, or better; but they would be something else than what they are, and consequently different from that which has rendered us a *great*, a *free*, and a *happy* nation.

“ But there is not the least reason to think that they were ever deemed the Representatives of the People; certainly not the knights, for the 40s. qualification of electors, the value of money considered, was nearly 40l of present money. The notion of representation, and delegation of rights and privileges from the electors, has vitiated and  
turned

turned to confusion so many ideas on the subject, because Writers and Parliaments themselves, to suit the purposes of a moment, have thought it for their interest to be esteemed something different than what they really are. The electors of Members of Parliament do not delegate power, nor intrust privileges, if, by délegation, is meant the transfer of something possessed by those who depute; for, the electors have neither those powers nor those privileges, and therefore cannot delegate them. But the Members when elected, and, in combination with the other branches of the legislature, assume and possess, and give themselves such powers and privileges, which those did not possess who sent them. Hence, then, the septennial act was just as constitutional as the biennial.

“The prosperity and happiness we have enjoyed for a century, and never so great as at present, is owing precisely to the House of Commons NOT speaking the will of the people; and, I am founded in the fact, so notorious to all the world, that such prosperity has grown to its present height under the influence of a House elected not by persons, but by property. If a parliament, speaking therefore not the voice of the people, has made us what we are; and if National Assemblies, speaking the voice of the people, have brought France to her present situation, I have a double experiment to support me in the assertion, —that reforming, or changing, the Constitution of our House of Commons, so as to make it speak some new voice, untried in this kingdom, would be a procedure on theory, and worthy of theorists only.

“It appears to me, that there would be a singular propriety in the associations which are at present spreading through the kingdom, petitioning parliament to pass an act, to declare all clubs, associations, societies, and meet-

ings

ings of men, that assemble for the purpose of obtaining changes in the Constitution, illegal.

“ The conclusion may be compressed in a few lines : the danger of the moment is great indeed ; and only to be guarded against by the most unremitting diligence and activity :—exert that diligence, and bring that activity into play, by an unanimous support of the administration entrusted at present with the public safety : the question is not, whether you are a friend or an enemy of that administration ; you are certainly a friend to the lives and properties of mankind. Join in associations for our defence, against banditti, cut-throats, and Jacobins ; join against an enemy more subtle, and therefore more dangerous, the friends of reform ; the associators, who would plant the tree of equal liberty ; the Mountebanks who have a French nostrum, and Birmingham daggers, for the diseases of our English Constitution. Guard against such miscreant attempts by pointed resolutions ; and call with one voice, on the legislature to suppress, by vigorous and decisive laws, the clubs of sedition ; the associations that call themselves our “ Constitutional ” Instructors, and our friends ; whose lessons are institutes of anarchy ; and whose friendship, should their tenets prevail, would cement with our best blood, that National Convention of Britain with which those societies have so lately threatened us.”

‘ *Example of France a Warning to Britain.*’

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### LANDING OF FOREIGN TROOPS.

AWAKE, O BRITONS ! LIFT UP YOUR EYES  
AND SEE !

THE late Lord Chatham stated in the House of Commons, that any Minister who would be base enough to advise or countenance the employment of *Foreign Troops*

in

in this kingdom, without the consent of Parliament, deserved to be IMPEACHED.—*His son*, the present immaculate minister, and *late Member* of the Society held at the Thatched House Tavern, in 1782, for the purpose of obtaining a THOROUGH Parliamentary Reform, stands up in the House and tells you, it is the KING's PREROGATIVE to land what foreign troops HE *pleases* in a time of war. It would be civil in Mr. Pitt, at least to inform us *where* and *when* the act of Parliament was made, that introduced so monstrous an *innovation* into our Constitution.

But explanations are now unnecessary: *consistency* is no longer looked for; and a DEAD MAJORITY requires but little reasoning to.

(To be continued.)

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE return our thanks for the numerous favours we have received on the subject of the late Fast. Our different Correspondents will, however, acknowledge the propriety of keeping back part of them: many of them were similar: it was therefore impossible to bring them all before the Public.—MEN OF GENIUS THINK ALIKE.

We are sorry to say, though we approve of the subject, that the lines from D. MASONRY are too imperfect for insertion.

VESPUICULUS, CROMWELL, and PENETENTIUS, are received, and shall be attended to.

We shall be exceeding happy for the further communications of BRUTUS, OLD HUBERT, The LEARNED PIG, PORKULUS, PENETENTIUS, E. Y, &c.

Every communication, post paid, or sent in any other manner, to D. I. EATON, No. 74, Newgate-street, directed for the Editors of POLITICS FOR THE PEOPLE, will be duly attended to.

# Politics for the People.

PART II.

N U M B E R VII.

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1794:

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## LANDING OF FOREIGN TROOPS.

*(Continued from our last:)*

THE time is, however, coming when it must be proved who are the real friends of the people, and of *the valuable parts* of our Constitution.

When the Duke of NORFOLK moved for a clause in the *Mutiny Bill* “*to legalize the discipline of the Foreign Troops, landed and at present in this country.*”

Lord LAUDERDALE, *professing himself a friend to the Constitution*, and jealous for the liberty of his country, said he could not consent to any measure which tended to infringe on either; he was bold to say that from the very little Information which ministers had thought proper to give to the house or the public it was impossible to imagine what was their real intent, with respect to the present or future destination of those foreign troops—if it was meant to send British  
Subjects

Subjects to the continent to fight the battles of the allied Powers, and to bring foreign troops here for the internal defence of this country, he would OPPOSE IT TO THE LAST EXTREMITY.

Even Lord SPENCER appeared conscious of the danger with which our *liberties* are threatened, and observed, that if he thought it was the intention of Ministers to send the subjects of this country abroad, and bring foreigners for its internal defence, he hoped *every honest man* would agree with the noble Lord who spoke last, in *resisting so dangerous a measure*.

Lord STANHOPE, however, did not confine himself to the language of these moderates ; he gave way to the honest feelings of a Briton—a lover of liberty and justice! and, in very strong terms, condemned the landing of foreign troops in this country, FOR ANY PURPOSE WHATEVER ; and observed, that notwithstanding the alarm which ministers had so artfully propagated with respect to disaffected persons in this country, they had not been able to bring the name of any one before the house. *With respect to the doctrine of marching foreign troops to any part of this kingdom, he conceived it to be the MOST TREASONABLE that could be advanced ;* and said, should an attempt be made to carry such a measure into effect, he trusted *the people would resist it* in that manly manner which the constitution had pointed out, namely—by OPPOSING FORCE BY FORCE. He contended, it was a maxim with all the great lawyers who had written on the subject, and particularly judge Blackstone, ‘ that if a British subject should kill a foreigner, in defending his property, it was a justifiable homicide, but if he fell by the hand of a foreigner, it was wilful murder in the traitor.’

That

That the intention of ministry is to retain these *foreign mercenaries* in this country, there can be but little doubt, except the body of the nation, by their conduct, convince them that they will not brook such an outrageous insult, and that they are determined to join hands with the noble Peers, and *oppose it to the last extremity*.

BRUTUS.

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THE public prints inform us, that *one of the Hessian troops having quarrelled with a groom of Lord Moira's, immediately stabbed him in the groin*. A pleasing foretaste of the blessings which *Britons* are to experience at the hands of *hired, blood-thirsty, foreign mercenaries*, who, in the hour of sickness and distress, had been admitted on this hospitable shore. Could not these *spillers of blood* restrain their hands for the space of one short month? NO! Men who live by rapine, and who sell themselves to kill their fellow creatures, cannot long conceal those evil dispositions which slavery has nurtured, and long habits have confirmed.

Is it, then, to *cut the throats* of Englishmen, that this horde of *German men-killers* are to be introduced into this island, at the moment, when our countrymen, the gallant and natural defenders of our country, are transported by thousands to be opposed to, and destroyed by, those who are bravely fighting for their liberty and dearest rights?

FRIENDS and CITIZENS—arm yourselves against these horrid instruments of *despotism*, and lose no opportunity of obtaining the affection, and securing the attachment of such of your fellow countrymen who have devoted themselves to arms, and who are distinguished by the degrading appellation of *COMMON SOLDIERS*.

*A CRY from the DESERT;*

OR,

*A Review of Punishments for national Transgressions.*

I T pleas'd the Lord in antient times,  
 To punish Israelitish crimes;  
 And their iniquities to purge,  
 He sent a curse, a dreadful scourge.  
 The forest plague he ever sent,  
 To give his indignation vent,  
 That most infernal devilish thing,  
 That cruel monster call'd a ——.

Serpents he sent, and locusts too;  
 They pestilence and famine knew;  
 But — of all plagues were the worst  
 That e'er the Jewish nation curst;  
 The lesser plagues away were sent  
 When ever Israel did repent.  
 Soon as their destin'd work was done,  
 Serpents took leave, and they were gone:  
 When locusts serv'd their end, they knew  
 'Twas time to go, and off they flew:  
 The pestilence was sure to cease,  
 And leave the punish'd land in peace.  
 But those tremendous monsters stay,  
 Like tigers prowling o'er their prey;  
 And not to Israelites alone  
 Their cruel vengeance is made known,  
 But over all the spacious earth,  
 They give perpetual misery birth.

And

And though the world ten thousand times  
 Have fore repented of their crimes,  
 Under oppressive — power,  
 This plague increaseth more and more.  
 For many many ages past,  
 A third of all mankind at least,  
 Of all the myriads that are born,  
 From life by violence are torn,  
 Have perish'd ; and one half beside  
 In cruel bondage have been tied.  
 Though devastation far and wide,  
 As far as — power can stride,  
 Have made dejected nations groan,  
 And their hard wretched state bemoan,  
 Though half the labour of the poor,  
 Those filthy locusts — devour,  
 We see no prospect of relief,  
 But sink beneath our load of grief,  
 This horrid plague, this direful curse,  
 Is daily growing worse and worse.  
 But there's a nation found the way  
 To rid the world of beasts of prey,  
 The sc—ff—ld and the g—l—t—ne  
 Will do the work complete, I weene,  
 Will rid the world of all those devils,  
 And cure a hundred thousand evils,

---

 PENETENTIUS.

*A modern Charge by a Judge to a Jury—on a Question of  
 Libel.*

I AM bound by the law, while I sit in this place,  
 To say, in plain terms, what I think of the case ;  
 My opinion is this, and you're bound to pursue it—  
 The DEFENDANTS ARE GUILTY, and I'll make them rue it.

*To the Editor of* **POLITICS** *for the* **PEOPLE.**

**MR. EDITOR,**

If you think the following merits a place in your Politics for the People, you may insert it.

Yours, &c.

**O. CROMWELL.**

*The Genealogy of a modern Aristocrate.*

**THE** Devil begat Sin, Sin begat Error, Error begat Pride, Pride begat Ignorance, Ignorance begat Blind Zeal, Blind Zeal begat Superstition, Superstition begat Priestcraft, Priestcraft begat lineal Succession, lineal Succession begat Indelible Character, Indelible Character begat Blind Obedience, Blind Obedience begat False Worship, False Worship begat Infallibility, Infallibility begat the Pope and his Brethren in the time of Egyptian Darkness, the Pope begat Purgatory, Purgatory begat Auricular Confession, Auricular Confession begat Renouncing of Reason, Renouncing of Reason begat Implicit Faith, Implicit Faith begat Carnal Policy, Carnal Policy begat Unlimited Passive Obedience, Unlimited Passive Obedience begat Non Resistance, Non Resistance begat Oppression, Oppression begat Corruption, Corruption begat Want of Public Virtue, Want of Public Virtue begat Ministerial Influence, Ministerial Influence begat Time-Serving Sycophants, Time-Serving Sycophants begat Modern Aristocracy on the Body of the Whore of Babylon when she was deemed past Child-bearing.

*POLITICAL*

## POLITICAL CREED.

I BELIEVE in George III. the most *sapient* and most *powerful* Prince on earth.

And in WILLIAM PITT, his prime minister, whom he hath made ; *pure* and *immaculate*, born of his mother once a virgin, begotten by his father in the plenitude of his power ; educated under Dr. Prettyman, he descended to the bar, where he for some time remained in obscurity : He arose again, and ascended into the *House of Commons*, where he sits in triumph on the *Treasury Bench*, at the right hand of HARRY DUNDAS ; from thence he shall come again in *disgrace*, and answer for his *political Iniquities* to his injured country ; *and his power shall have an end.*

And I believe in Lord H——, the Lord and Ruler of the Cabinet Councils, who guides the K— and restrains his ministers, who, together with them is worshipped and adored, by *Placemen*, *Pensioners*, and *Expectants* ; who speaks by R—— B—— J— K— N— in the House of Commons : And I believe in a free, fair, and equal representation of the people in parliament : I acknowledge a reform therein *for the remission of Public Corruption*, and I look for the *resurrection* of political virtue, and the freedom of my country to come. *Amen.*

*HINTS to Persons associating in public Company, particularly those who have associated for obtaining a constitutional Reform.*

“ A Feeling Clerk in office, who had been present at some company where he heard toasts too free for the  
the

the present inquisitorial age, went to Mr. Pitt the next day, and gave information against his companions—Mr. Pitt thanked him for his attention, but pulled a paper out of his pocket, shewed him the toasts and the list of the company, with his own name very faithfully inserted at the bottom of the roll."

The foregoing is copied verbatim from a *ministerial print*, and conveys a clear view of the spirit and conduct of our *present Governors*, and of the *blessed* system of government we live under; a system which converts the *unguarded* but *honest* effusions of the mind, in the hour of hilarity and mirth, into *malignant crimes* against the state; thus striking at the root of *friendship* and *confidence*, and engendering in its stead *suspicion* and *reserve*. The ultimate end of this line of conduct must be, *if not timely prevented*, a total change in the national character, from that honest independent freedom of thought and expression, for which Englishmen have been famed, to that suspicion and gloom which so strongly manifests itself in the kingdoms of *Spain* and *Portugal*, the most convincing proof of their abject slavery, and of the cursed power and policy of their *tyrannic* and *inquisitorial* governments.

BRITONS, would you wish to avoid this degradation, —would you wish to maintain your *national character*—would you wish to arise to the enjoyment of AUGUST LIBERTY, or to sink deeper into the *slough of Corruption and Slavery*?—if the latter, BE STILL. But, if liberty, *that liberty for which your fathers bled*, is dear to you; if you wish to promote the happiness of the rising generation, and to prevent your offspring from being miserable, AWAKE, arise from that lethargy and stupor into which you have suffered yourselves to be lulled, and speak with firmness your minds.—*Ascertain your rights—claim, and defend*

defend them. You have no arm to trust to but your own—none can right you but yourselves : and the moment you claim with firmness, you will obtain what you ask. In the mean time, those of you who have already laudably associated in defence of wounded freedom, purge your societies of all your suspected characters. Let the *timorous* and the *guilty* be banished your connections. No man is worthy your countenance or support but him *who will boldly claim his constitutional rights*, and sacrifice, if needful, his life, in opposing every *unconstitutional power* that would deprive, or that has deprived, him of them. You will thus counteract the *despicable system* which introduces Spies and Informers into your public and private meetings, and your resolutions will be esteemed, in as much as they will inspire a confidence, that those who resolve are able and willing to execute.

### DISCRETION of JUDGES.

THE cases of Mr. MUIR and Mr. PALMER, which have attracted so much of the public attention, have also produced some observations on the *Discretion* of Judges, so novel in themselves, and so extremely dangerous to liberty, that it is the duty of every man to learn what have been the opinions of *Lawyers themselves* on this interesting subject.

The following are the opinions of two eminent lawyers on the *Discretion* of a judge, Mr. FEARNE, and LORD CAMDEN. They ought to be generally known at this time, because the conduct of the Scots Judges in the case of Mr. MUIR and Mr. PALMER, has been called by a gentleman of great talents, and great weight in this country, (the

(the Chancellor of the Exchequer) a *sound* and *meritorious* discretion.

"To leave it in the breast of the Judge (says Mr. FEARNE) to relax, or supersede general restrictions and rules, whenever he shall think particular cases not within the reason of them, may, perhaps, by some be thought a more important absurdity, and a matter of greater mischief in its tendency and consequences, than that which is intended to be obviated by it; for this is in fact, making the *discretion* of the judge, the only law in such cases—an error, which our forefathers seem to have been even *illiberally* studious to keep clear of. For their creed seems to have been, what I have read, expressed in so much energy of terms, by a great judge even of these times. *The discretion of a judge is the law of tyrants; it is always unknown; it is different in different men; it is casual, and depends upon constitution, temper and passion; in the best, it is oftentimes caprice; in the worst, it is every vice, folly and passion, to which human nature is liable.*"

Vide Fearn on Contingent Remainders, p. 428 and 429, 3d edition; and Lord Camden's Argument in *Doe v. Kersey, Baker*, 5 Geo. 3. 1766.

**PLAN of a CONVENTION**  
for the Purpose of effecting  
**AN ADEQUATE AND EFFECTUAL REFORM,**  
From Gerrald's Convention.

*Organization of the Primary Assemblies for the  
Purpose of electing Deputies.*

First, **I**N each primary assembly, a particular list shall be made of the citizens who compose it.

Second, The number of deputies, to meet in the convention,

vention, from England and Scotland, may be 375; that is to say, 250 from England, and 125 from Scotland.

Third, as the number of adult males, all of whom, on our present plan, are electors, amount, in England, to 125,000, they may be divided into 1250 primary assemblies; each parish containing one primary assembly, which shall have a right to choose ten electors.

Fourth, Let the ten electors so chosen, form the one tenth of an intermediate body of electors, or secondary assembly, which shall be composed of ten neighbouring parishes.† This intervention of a secondary assembly, while it collects the public will, in the completest manner, secures, at the same time, the elections for deputies from those tumults and disorders, which sometimes accompany large meetings of the people.

Fifth, The secondary assembly so met to proceed to the choice of two deputies to be sent to the convention.

Sixth, The proportion of the primary electors to that of the deputies will be as 1 to 5000. All the primary assemblies collectively will then send 250 deputies; the population of England alone being estimated at six millions, if to these 250 English deputies we add 125 from Scotland, elected in the same manner, and whose population may be estimated at three millions, the whole convention will form a body of 375 members to deliberate for the welfare of both countries.

† As men, not bricks and stones, are the proper objects of legislation, population, not property, is the basis of our plan. To effect this, a new division of parishes is here supposed.

OF THE  
STATE OF THE VOTERS, AND OF THE NECESSARY  
CONDITIONS FOR THE EXERCISE  
OF THEIR RIGHTS.

1st. EVERY man of the age of 21, who is neither a criminal, an idiot, nor a lunatic, has a right of voting.

2d. No man is to be deemed a criminal unless convicted of the charge alledged by a jury of twelve men, the bill having been previously found by a grand jury.

3d. No man shall be considered as an idiot, or a lunatic, unless the fact has been judicially ascertained in open court, and a regular certificate of such fact be produced to the person authorized to receive the votes,

4th. No person to be permitted to exercise his right of voting in more than one primary assembly.

5th. A residence of three months should be deemed necessary to enable any man to vote in his primary assembly.

6th. But as no man should be deprived of the power of voting, unless, as before observed, he laboured under the misfortune of idiocy or lunacy, or had been convicted of a crime; so his not having resided three months in that particular parish, wherein he may live at the period of election, shall not extinguish his right of voting altogether; but he shall be permitted to vote in the parish where last he resided for the space of time abovementioned.

7th. Every man shall be deemed eligible, as a deputy, either to the secondary assembly, or to the convention, unless he be an idiot, lunatic, or one convicted of a crime, by the decisions of a grand and a petty jury.

8th. All

8th. All persons eligible, may be chosen by the electors of any place, even though he be not a member of that parish or primary assembly.

From this plan the following good effect will ensue ;

First, The people will enjoy not only *civil* liberty, but *political* liberty ; that is to say, they will not only *be* free, but have the power of *keeping* themselves so.

Second, The deputies being bound to speak the sense of their constituents, will be really their *representatives*. Corruption will be cut up by the roots, as no equivalent can be given to a whole nation for their happiness.

Third, The deputies being liable to be recalled whenever they act contrary to the will of their constituents, a constant sense of their dependence will keep them steady in the pursuit of the object, for the attainment of which they were sent. Impeachment of the public servants, a measure which obstructs public business and creates ill blood, will then be rendered unnecessary, as it has already been found ineffectual ; since it only punishes crimes, but does not prevent them.

Fourth, War, that greatest of human evils, will, in all probability, cease, as the people, who at all times have borne the burden of carrying it on, will then be consulted on the propriety of making it. The term glory, which is only to be found in the jargon of courts, and not in the language of reason, will be abolished ; and man, awakened at last to a sense of his real interest, will find that the pain of suffering evil is greater than the pleasure of inflicting it.

Fifth, Contentment with our situation, as far as is consistent with the condition of our being, would take place, since no one could with propriety complain of be-  
ing

ing punished for the breach of that law, to the making of which he himself had consented.

Sixth, Punishments would be, in great measure rendered unnecessary, as the temptation to commit crimes would be lessened ; and every man would feel a pride in obeying those laws which he had contributed to enact.

Seventh, Ignorance, the parent of vice, would be soon destroyed ; as all men, being trained to public business, would have their understandings enlightened upon the duties which they were bound to perform.

Eighth, The broadest as well as deepest foundation of public happiness would be laid. Every man then not only being eligible by law, but standing an equal chance of filling the offices of the state, the widest field would be opened for a display of those talents and virtues which produce satisfaction to the individual, and benefit to the country.

And lastly, the poor, who are now worked too hard, and taught too little, would have their persons better protected, their labour better rewarded, and their minds better instructed ; and that class of men, the extremely indigent, would soon cease to exist ; who, as they are now excluded from the benefits of society, are of course interested, and are too often employed, in promoting its disturbance.

In the appointment of your representatives, I would recommend it to you to choose men like yourselves, of plain manners, and simple lives ; who can have no other object than the interest of the people, who have never been corrupted by the habits of holding places, or expecting them ; and who have neither promoted the views of a domineering aristocracy, nor breathed the contagious air of a court. The history of parties, since the revolution, is  
only

only a history of the struggles for power and emolument, and must ultimately convince a divided nation, that the one is only eager to get, what the other is as anxious to keep.

High sounding words about liberty, and pompous and long-winded speeches, if they do not accompany a diminution of public taxes, and an abolition of sinecure places and pensions, are only traps to ensnare. The sacred name of religion has formerly been used as the mantle of persecution. The history of the present day must likewise convince you, that civil policy has its heresies, as well as divinity, and that the altars of freedom, though approached with the sanctimonious pretence of reverence and adoration, may be equally profaned with the temples of religion.—If the opposition, during the last session, had manfully seceded from a parliament, where they only served to display the inefficacy of their efforts, and, had left the minister to run his full career of madness and iniquity, they might have opened the eyes of the people, who would then have seen, that parliament is no check upon the determinations of the cabinet. If, instead of nibbling at particular clauses of acts of parliament, with the loquacious dexterity of barristers, if, instead of criminating the minister for a feeble prosecution of the war, they had boldly refused to concur in a vote of supplies, of which the object is to extinguish the liberties of Europe, they would have been justly entitled to the confidence of their country. Upon this confidence, however, they can have now no claim\*. If I perish by the sword of the assassin, is it any

\* From among these, I must however except Sheridan, whose rich and copious talents I admire; whom, for his manly and avowed hatred of the coalition, I revere; and who, unconnected with

any alleviation of my sufferings, that the weapon is forged or sharpened by those who, with hollow professions of friendship in their mouths, embrace their hands in my innocent blood? If any thing can lessen our abhorrence of an action mischievous to society, it can only be our conviction of the sincerity of the agent. But, what shall we think of those, who stigmatize war as murder, yet join with the band of national assassins; who reprobate it as robbery, yet unfeelingly drain the purse of the peasant to support it? What is this, but to be voluntary partakers of the great compact of depravity, and to contribute means to accomplish an end, which they themselves pronounce to be wicked?

with aristocratic families, and untainted by aristocratic principles, has, I sincerely believe, at heart the welfare, and therefore merits the confidence, of the people.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

D. I. EATON informs his numerous correspondents, that an emblematical Letter Box is preparing, and, in a few days, will be fixed in his window, for the reception of such original pieces, and extracts on various political topics, as they may be inclined to favour him with for this work.

Ingenious Essays, calculated to promote the cause of Freedom and Reform, will be sure to find a speedy admittance into this work, and a very extensive circulation in the different parts of the kingdom, through its medium.

As it is D. I. Eaton's determination to render this work, as far as lies in his power, worthy of the extensive patronage which a generous public has given it, he requests his correspondents to send their pieces as correct as possible.

# Politics for the People.

PART II.

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1794.

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## PEACE AND REFORM.

*Sheffield, Feb. 28, 1794.*

AT a public meeting of the Friends of Peace and Reform, held in an open piece of ground in West-street, in Sheffield, consisting of at least *five thousand persons*, called by public advertisement, to attend to the delivery of a serious lecture, to sing an hymn composed for the occasion, and to conclude with the passing of such resolutions as the present juncture of affairs seems to call for: William Camage being called to the chair, the following resolutions were voted without a dissenting voice.

1. That WAR, the wretched artifice of courts, is a system of *rapine* and *blood*, unworthy of rational beings, and utterly repugnant to the mild and benevolent principles of the Christian religion.

2. That if the *present* war be a war of *combined kings* against the *people of France*, to overthrow that liberty  
which

which they are struggling to establish, it is, in our opinion, a war of the most *diabolical* kind.

3. That when public fasts and humiliations are ordered with the *same* breath, which commands the shedding of *oceans of human blood*—however they may answer the purposes of *State policy*—they are *solemn prostitutions of religion*.

4. That the landing of Hessian troops in this country (a ferocious and unprincipled horde of butchers) without consent of Parliament, has a *suspicious* and *alarming* appearance, is contrary to the spirit of our Constitution, and deserving of the marked indignation of every Englishman.

5. That it is high time to be upon our GUARD, since these armed *monsters*, may in a moment be let loose upon us; particularly as the erection of *barracks* throughout the kingdom, may only have been an introductory measure to the filling them with *foreign mercenaries*.

6. That the high and freeborn minds of Britons, revolt at the idea of such a *slavish system*, and cannot be so far broken as to kiss the hand which would chain them to its will.

7. That *Peace* and *Liberty* are the offspring of heaven, and that life without them is a burden.

8. That the thanks of this meeting are due to Earl Stanhope, for his motion and spirited speech for acknowledging the French Republic, and restoring PEACE to our distressed country; for his motion and able speech in behalf of the persecuted and suffering patriots, Messrs. Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Margarott, in which he nobly stood alone; and also for the whole of his truly animated and benevolent exertions in support of the injured RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.

9. The thanks of this meeting are also due to Mr. Sheridan, for his nervous and eloquent speeches in the cause  
of

of injured patriotism, and in support of the Constitution ; and also to every other Member of Parliament who has nobly stood forward at this important crisis, in support of the Constitutional Liberties of Englishmen.

10. That if any thing had been necessary to have convinced us of the total inefficacy of *argument* against a *ministerial majority*, the decisions which have lately taken place in Parliament, would have fully confirmed our opinion.

11. That, therefore, the People have no remedy for their grievances, but a REFORM IN PARLIAMENT—a measure which we determine never to relinquish, though we follow our brethren in the same glorious cause to BOTANY BAY.

W. CAMAGE, Chairman.

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### PERSECUTED PATRIOTS.

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The following Letter from the SHEFFIELD CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY, has been transmitted to Messrs. MUIR, PALMER, SKIRVING, and MARGAROT, on board the Transport which is to convey them to Botany Bay.

*Generous Patriots !*

THE SHEFFIELD CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY approach you with Veneration. This letter comes not fraught with PITY, CONDOLENCE or CONSOLATION:—No, our *pity* we reserve for your Persecutors; and Condolence and Consolation we need for *ourselves*. Our loss is greater than yours. You are only banished from a country, which, however dear, is unworthy of you; we are deprived of YOU, of your Abilities, of your Virtues,

Virtues, of your Examples ; and though you are doomed to sweat under the Yoke of Bondage, are our Chains less galling than yours, because the *name* of LIBERTY is branded upon the links ?

In this mournful moment of separation, though we sympathize, nay we feel your sufferings, yet pardon us, we weep not for *you*, but for ourselves and our Children, for our Country, our Orphan-country, thus suddenly deprived, by a tyrannical decree, of four FATHERS at one rending pang. Our hearts are too full to say much ; your Comforts repose within the Sanctuaries of your own Bosoms, secure from the reach of all the Tyrants of Earth or Hell.

May the great FATHER of MERCIES, stretch forth his Omnipotent arm to guide you across the pathless ocean ; may HE send his angel to prepare your way in the bleak, inhospitable regions, whither you are bound ; and oh ! if it be his Sovereign pleasure, may that guardian angel, and that Omnipotent arm soon, soon restore you triumphant to your *regenerated* Country !

Our Prayers, our Thanks, our hearts attend you ; forget not us ; but frequently, when the cruel toils of the day are over, in the cool of the evening, as you wander, conversing together, or meditating alone on the melancholy shores of New Holland, turn your affectionate eyes to the land of your nativity, and bless your unfortunate Country ; and amongst other dear friends and tender connections, which bleeding memory will renew, remember your humble followers, your younger brethren, the PATRIOTS of SHEFFIELD.

*Sheffield, March 8, 1794.*

*To the Editor of* POLITICS *for the* PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

At a time when the people of this country are daily expending their best blood and treasure in consequence of treaties of alliance with the present Combined Powers against the Republic of France, and likewise subsidising some of those very powers with upwards of one million sterling annually, to enable them to fight their own battles; in order that the people of Great Britain and Ireland may be enabled to judge impartially of the real views and designs of these our good friends and allies, against the rising liberties of that country, even during the period of the first great and enlightened Constituent Assembly, which commenced in April, 1789, and ended its labours in the latter end of September, 1791, I have sent you the following extracts (for the information of the numerous readers of your patriotic work) taken from a late publication, entitled, "An impartial History of the Revolution in France, containing some well authenticated matters of fact not yet generally known to the people of this country, such as the partition treaty for the division of FRANCE and POLAND, as signed by the high contracting parties, to which other Powers are said to have since acceded, which I hope will clearly prove to the people of this country the ruinous consequences of this system of war and conquest.

"The World's mad Business."

Guildhall, March 12,

1794.

"**T**O unravel more explicitly the cause of these fatal jealousies, and in reality of all the unfortunate circumstances which afterwards afflicted this unhappy and distracted country (meaning France) it will be necessary to have a retrospect to a transaction which occurred some months previous to the period of which we are now treating, and which was *during the existence of the first Constituent Assembly*. Towards the close of the summer of 1791, an extraordinary convention took place at Pilnitz in Saxony, between

between the emperor Leopold and the present king of Prussia, between whom, as principals, a treaty was formed, to which other powers are supposed to have afterwards acceded †. The professed object of this treaty was sufficiently profligate and atrocious. It was the hostile invasion of France, and the new-modelling of its government. In his circular letter from Pavia, of the 6th of July, the emperor had avowed a similar intention, and had invited the princes of Europe to co-operate with him in a resistance to those principles so obnoxious to *arbitrary authority*, which had pervaded France, and which threatened to extend over the whole face of Europe. The league of Pilnitz, however, in which the Empress of Russia is also to be considered as principally concerned, is generally supposed to have had more extensive views, and to have involved projects still more offensive, if possible, to the dictates of justice, and to the peace of Europe. The partition of France as well as of Poland, or at least of a considerable portion of the territories of both, among the confederated powers, and a new modelling of the Germanic circles, are strongly suspected to have been the real principles upon which this infamous compact was founded.

“ Dark and mysterious as the conduct of the allied courts has been, relative to the substance of the conference, the imprudence of some of the inferior agents has dropped occasional intimations which can leave little doubt of the criminality of their designs. Considering, however, the Convention of Pilnitz in the most favourable point of view, and accepting the explanation of its express fram-

† From their having sent Ambassadors and Ministers to the said Convention at Pilnitz.

ers, the proceeding is sufficiently unjust and absurd to warrant the most unqualified censure. If any thing on earth is sacred, it is the domestic oeconomy of both nations and individuals. In private life, the iniquity of interfering in a hostile manner in the internal state, or household concerns, of a neighbour, is felt and acknowledged by all mankind. Are then the rights of nations to be accounted less sacred than those of private citizens? Are the lives of millions, who must fall on both sides in such a contest, of less consequence than the poverty or anxiety of individuals? But this is not the worst; the principle, if once admitted, is subversive of every right, and necessarily sanctions every crime that can be committed against society. It sanctions robbery and murder. In this view, the conquests of Alexander and of Mahomet were acts of virtue: it was criminal to resist the ambitious projects of Louis XIV; and should the empress of Russia, at any future period, discover any thing to be new modelled in the laws or constitution of Great Britain, we are bound to receive her barbarous legions, not as enemies or invaders, but as philosophic friends, who are only come to make improvements in our condition, and benevolently to present us with that most inestimable of blessings, a despotic government.

“ France, at the moment when this royal banditti were plotting against her peace, might be said literally to be in a state of internal tranquility. There existed parties in the nation, it is true, as must exist in every country which is newly agitated with the spirit of freedom.

“ If we observe the conduct of these Princes with respect to Poland, it will afford the fairest comment on their motives with respect to France. The convention of *Pilnitz* was not unknown in France, though the full extent

tent of the terms and conditions of the treaty was but imperfectly understood. It was impossible then in the nature of things, that it could be known, that a concert of Princes was formed for the express purpose of invading the country, of overturning the constitution, of re-establishing despotic authority, and that the minds of the people should not be greatly agitated with fears and with suspicions. It was next to impossible, that a part of these suspicions should not fall upon the Court.

“ The fatal flight of the King, which was during the period of the very first Constituent Assembly, could not be eradicated from the minds of the people, and the imprudent proclamation of Bouille, could not be recollected without resentment and apprehension.

“ The following paper, which has since been made public, will serve to unveil the combination of our *good* friends and allies, and cannot be read without the utmost indignation by any friend of liberty and of justice.

Partition Treaty between the Courts in concert, concluded and signed at Pavia, in the month of July, 1791.

“ His Majesty the Emperor will re-take all that Louis XIV. conquered in the Austrian Netherlands; and uniting these provinces to the said Netherlands, will give them to his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, so that these new possessions, added to the palatinate, may hereafter have the name of Austrasia.

“ His Majesty the Emperor will preserve, for ever, the property and possession of Bavaria, to make in future an *indivisible* mass with the domains and hereditary possessions of the House of Austria.

“ Her Serene Highness the Archduchess Maria Christina shall be, conjointly with his Serene Highness her  
nephew,

nephew, the Archduke Charles, put into hereditary possession of the Duchy of Lorraine.

“ Alsace shall be restored to the Empire ; and the Bishop of Strasburgh, as well as the chapter, shall recover their ancient privileges ; and the ecclesiastical Sovereigns of Germany shall do the same.

“ If the Swiss cantons consent and accede to the coalition, it may be proposed to them to annex to the Helvetic league the bishopric of Porentrui, the defiles of Franche-Compte, and even those of Tyrol, with the neighbouring bailiwicks, as well as the territory of Verfoy, which intersects the Pays de Vaud.

“ Should his Majesty the King of Sardinia subscribe to the coalition, la Bresse, le Pugey, and the Pays de Gex, usurped by France from Savoy, shall be restored to him.

“ In case his Sardinian Majesty can make a grand diversion, he shall be suffered to take Dauphiny, to belong to him for ever, as the nearest descendant of the ancient Dauphins.

“ His Majesty the King of Spain shall have Roussillon and Berne, with the island of Corsica ; and he shall take possession of the French part of *St. Domingo*.

“ Her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias shall take upon herself the invasion of Poland, and, at the same time, retain Kamienieck, with that part of Podolia which borders on Moldavia.

“ His Majesty the Emperor shall oblige the Porte to give up Choczim, as well as the small forts of Servia, and those on the river Lurna.

“ His Majesty the King of Prussia, by means of the above-mentioned invasion of the Empress of all the Russias into Poland, shall make an acquisition of Thorn and Dantzic, and there unite the Palatinate on the east to the confines of Silesia.

“ His

" His Majesty the King of Prussia shall, besides, acquire Luface, and his Serene Highness the Elector of Saxony shall, in exchange, receive the rest of Poland, and occupy the throne as hereditary Sovereign.

" His Majesty, the present King of Poland, shall abdicate the throne, on receiving a suitable annuity.

" His Royal Highness the Elector of Saxony shall give his daughter in marriage to his Serene Highness, the youngest son of his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of all the Russias, who will be the father of the hereditary Kings of Poland and Lithuania:

(Signed)

" LEOPOLD,

" Prince NASSAU.

" Count FLORIDA BLANCA.

" BISCHOFFWERDER."

" The King of *England* is said to have acceded to this treaty in March, 1792 ; and Holland to have acceded afterwards, provided the arrangements respecting their limits with his Imperial Majesty, should be made according to the desire of the Dutch Republic, before the partition.

" Spain renounced it, when Count d'Aranda came into office as Minister, giving assurances, however, of the strictest neutrality."

## EFFECTS OF WAR.

COME proud unfeeling Pomp—Come Luxury,

And ye who thoughtless frolic in the round

Of Mirth and Joy, or revel out the night

Where Dissipation mads her festive sons!

A scene I will disclose, a piteous scene,

At sight of which proud Pomp shall shrink aghast ;

The

The tear shall start from the chang'd-eye of Mirth,  
 And, from the unnerv'd bacchanalian hand,  
 The cup shall fall, untasted, to the ground.  
 Behold yon wretched hovel, once the seat  
 Of Industry and Health, Content and Love :  
 There the poor labourer, from his daily toil  
 Releas'd at eve, enjoy'd his little home.  
 With every sweet endearment, his fond wife  
 Welcom'd his glad return ; rejoic'd to share  
 A father's smile, the little prattlers strove  
 To climb his knee, and play'd their gambols round.  
 Thoughtless of future ills, each parent smil'd,  
 Gaz'd on the pledges of their mutual love  
 With heart-felt joy, and thought them wealth enough!  
 Blest was the cot with innocence and peace.  
 Alas ! how chang'd ! each smiling joy is fled,  
 Fled—to return no more !—while sickness, want,  
 Famine, and all the complicated woes,  
 That haunt the desolating steps of war,  
 With dismal gloom, o'erspread the sadden'd scene.  
 See on yon wretched bed, which ill excludes  
 Rude winter's piercing blast, with sickness wan,  
 A wife, a mother, lies ; oft had she spar'd  
 The hard-earn'd morsel from her famish'd lips,  
 To save her children from untimely death ;  
 Long had she struggled with the cruel force  
 Of Sickness, preying on her tender frame,  
 Too carefully conceal'd, lest she should add  
 Another pang t'encrease her partner's woes ;  
 She sinks at last, and feels the icy grasp  
 Of Desolation waste her feeble frame.  
 Resign'd, she welcomes death, nor heaves a sigh,  
 Save for her husband's and her children's fate.

In vain to shield her sinking in his arms,  
 And ward the dart, a wretched husband strives !—  
 She clasps his hand, and looks a last adieu !  
 In speechless agony he stands, while death,  
 Remorseless, mocks his prayer, and strikes the blow.  
 See o'er the clay-cold corpse he hangs,—despair  
 Rolls in his eye, and anguish fills his soul !  
 Have we no HOWARD left,—Heaven's messenger  
 To poverty distressed, to pour the balm  
 Of comfort on Affliction's wounded heart ?  
 But here the stores of charity would fail,  
 Lo Commerce sickens, and the toiling hand  
 Of Industry droops lifeless, unemploy'd ;  
 Dire is the curse, and wide the ruin spreads,  
 War sounds an echoing blast, and havoc stalks around !  
 Britannia, weeping, mourns her hapless sons,  
 But frowns indignant at a nation's wrongs.  
 Despots delight in war ; to them 'tis sport,  
 A Royal Game—their subjects lives the stake :  
 But why will brother against brother lift  
 The murderous steel, to gratify the pride  
 Of one ambitious man, yclep'd a King ?  
 If we must fight, let freemen fight with slaves ;  
 Hurl'd from their thrones let despots feel the force  
 Of Britain's vengeful thunder, nor insult  
 THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS, and the RIGHTS OF MAN.  
 Tremble, ye tyrants, for your doom is seal'd !  
 Tremble, ye slaves, for ye shall bite the dust ;  
 Triumphant Freedom, in her blood-stain'd vest,  
 Despots combin'd, drags at her chariot-wheels,  
 And nobly manumits a world enslav'd !

PHILANTHROPOS.

## S U B S I D I E S.

THE following is the substance of the Treaties for Subsidies, entered into during the last year, between Great Britain and other countries.

By a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, entered into on the 10th of April, 1793, his Serene Highness engages to keep in readiness for service, during three years, 8000 men, as well infantry as cavalry. The levy money for these troops is 80 crowns banco for each horseman, and 30 crowns banco for each foot soldier:—The subsidy is 225,000 crowns banco per annum. The expence of obtaining recruits, for the purpose of keeping this corps complete, and that of replacing any artillery, or other effects, which may be taken by the enemy, will be defrayed by this country. The pay of those who may be wanting between one spring review and the next, is not to be retained, but shall be allowed, without abatement, as if they were complete; and instead of what was formerly paid for recruiting, in the room of one killed, or three wounded, it is agreed, that, without distinction, each man furnished shall be supplied at the rate of 12 crowns banco a head. (A crown banco is equal to 4s. 9d 3-farthings).

By a secondary treaty with the Landgrave, dated August 23, 1793, another corps of 4000 men is taken into the British service, upon the same terms.

By a treaty with the Margrave of Baden, dated Sept. 21, 1793, a corps of 754 Baden troops is taken into the British service, upon the same terms.

By a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt,  
dated

dated October 5, 1793, a corps of 3000 troops is taken into the British pay, upon the same terms.

The treaty with the king of Sardinia, signed April 25, 1793, grants to his Sardinian Majesty 200,000*l.* sterling, annually, during the war.

The treaty with the King of the Two Sicilies covenants, that his Sicilian Majesty shall "unite to the forces of his Britannic Majesty, in order that he may employ them in the Mediterranean, either conjunctly, or in concert with his own military and naval forces, a body of 6000 land troops, as well as four ships of the line, four frigates, and four small ships of war."—The subsistence and forage of the said corps to be supplied by this country, as soon as it shall have quitted the dominions of his Sicilian Majesty. His Britannick Majesty engages to keep a respectable fleet of ships of the line in the Mediterranean, as long as the danger of the Two Sicilies, and the operations which they shall undertake against the common enemy, shall require; and his said Majesty engages to take such arrangements as shall be most proper for maintaining, either by his own forces, or in concert with the other maritime powers engaged in this war, a decided superiority in that sea, and to provide by this means, for the security of the Sicilian dominions."

There are likewise treaties entered into with the Emperor of Germany, the Empress of Russia, the King of Prussia, the King of Spain, and the Queen of Portugal, each of which declares our being engaged in one Common Cause and End, with these Despots!!!

*FATHER*

### FATHER OF CORRUPTION.

SIR Robert Walpole has been called the FATHER OF CORRUPTION ; he was so in reality, and the art was then only in its infancy.

Sir Robert bribed Members of Parliament, and had venal writers in his pay—

But Sir Robert Walpole never thought of adopting the odious practices of the old French Government, and of maintaining an army of Spies and Informers.

He did not think it necessary to corrupt the country newspapers.

He did not encourage vindictive prosecutions for idle words.

He never betrayed his friends or persecuted men when in office, for propagating *his own* sentiments, before he came into office.

He never attempted to court popularity by professing himself a friend to *Parliamentary Reform*, but always openly opposed it.

He was not an invidious enemy to the liberty of the press, by restraining it under the pretence of advantage to the revenue—

Nor, with all his faults, did he precipitate his country into ruinous wars for his own emolument, or enter into expensive armaments, or mock preparations, for the purpose of patronage and deception.

Many people have thought Sir Robert Walpole was a *rogue* ; but we never heard he had those worst characteristics of roguery imputed to him,

HYPOCRISY—APOSTACY and CRUELTY

## ON GOVERNMENTS.

“THAT Government cannot be long esteemed which is supported by severity. In proportion as the people are oppressed, in that proportion will they be discontented, and sooner or later, will that government feel the irritated vengeance of the injured inhabitants !”

Such were the observations made by Mr. Pitt during a late debate, when reprobating the tyrannical proceedings of the French rulers ; and we confess, that although we are not in the *constant habit* of panegyriizing the minister’s sentiments, we do most cordially join with him on the present occasion, and earnestly hope that his excellent observations may be attended to not only in France, *but in other countries* : if there are in any country under heaven, statesmen, who have arrived at such an almost unparelled pitch of impudence and infamy, as severely and unrelentingly to persecute virtuous men, merely for propagating opinions which those very statesmen were friends to before they came into office, let all such persecuting hypocrites and apostates read Mr. Pitt’s observations, and—TREMBLE !

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Mr. Editor,

As many persons have been struck with the atrocity of Mr. P—’s assertion “that the King has a right to introduce foreign troops in this island, without the consent of Parliament,” and have been ready to suppose he had no authority for it ; I beg leave, through your work, to lay the following extract, from the Journals of the House of Commons, before the Public, for his justification.

“AS it is *atheism* and *blasphemy* in a creature to dispute what the *Deity* can do, so it is *presumption* and *sedition* in a subject to dispute what a *King* may do in the height of his power.

“*Good Christians* will be content with God’s will revealed in his word, and *Good Subjects* will rest on the King’s Will, revealed in his law.”—King James’s Speech to his Parliament.

ceeding trials, sometimes convictions, and cruel sentences for thinking, speaking, writing, or dreaming, supposed, or interpreted sedition ; inventing or publishing fables, or playing (by desire) on a barrel organ, thereby fomenting divers alarming, well known plots, and dangerous insurrections, &c. &c.

THIS IS TO GIVE NOTICE, that the swine, in general, who wish to quit these realms, may inform the Attorney General of their intentions, without paying postage, and will be conveyed to NORTH AMERICA at free cost ; their numbers not to exceed eight million souls. The Hessian breed, and other property, vassals, stock, and cattle, born principally to enrich the high contracting proprietors of the travelling shambles, are not to emigrate with the more spirited and majestic herd of national swine.

N.B. The Spanish Inquisition is in want of a chief, and will give a larger salary than judge Ashurst receives.

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The SOCIETY of  
UNITED IRISHMEN of DUBLIN,

TO THE  
PEOPLE of IRELAND.

*People of Ireland,*

WE now submit to your consideration, a plan for your equal representation in the House of Commons. In framing it, we have disregarded the many over-charged accusations, which we hear daily made by the prejudiced and the corrupt, against the people, their independence, integrity, and understanding. We are, ourselves *but a*  
*portion*

*portion of the people* ; and that appellation, we feel, confers more real honour and importance, than can, in *these times*, be derived from places, pensions, or titles. As little have we consulted the sentiments of Administration or of Opposition. We have attentively observed them both, and, whatever we may hope of some members of the latter, we firmly believe, that both those parties are equally averse to the measure of adequate Reform. If we had no other reason for that opinion, the plan laid before Parliament, in the last session, under the auspices of Opposition, might convince us of the melancholy truth. Thus circumstanced then, distrusting all parties, we hold it the right and the duty of every man in the nation, to examine, deliberate, and decide for himself on that important measure. *As a portion of the people* (for in no other capacity, we again repeat it, do we presume to address you) we suggest to you our ideas, by which we would provide to preserve the popular part of the legislature, uninfluenced by, and independent of, the other two parts, and to effectuate that essential principle of justice and of our constitution, that every man has the right of voting, through the medium of his representative, for the law by which he is bound : that sacred principle for which America fought, and by which Ireland was emancipated from British supremacy ! If our ideas are right, which we feel an honest conviction they are, adopt them ; if wrong, discussion will detect their errors, and *we*, at least, shall be always found ready to profit by, and conform ourselves to, the sentiments of the people.

Our present state of representation is charged with being unequal, unjust, and by no means calculated to express *your* deliberate will, on any subject of general importance. We have endeavoured to point out the remedies

ties of those evils, by a more equal distribution of political power and liberty ; *by doing justice* ; and by anxiously providing, that your deliberate will shall be, at all times, accurately expressed in your own branch of the legislature. If these are not the principles of good government, we have yet to learn from the placemen and pensioners that flirt about the castle, in what the science of politics can consist. But we know they are, and we are bold to say, that the more a government carries these principles into effect, the nearer it approaches to perfection.

We believe it will be said that our plan, however just, is impracticable in the present state of this country. If any part of that impracticability should be supposed to result from the interested resistance of borough proprietors, although we never will consent to compromise the *Public Right*, yet we, for our parts, might not hesitate to purchase the *Public Peace*, by an adequate compensation. At all events, it rests with you, Countrymen, not with us, to remove the objection. If you do not wish the accomplishment of such a reform, it will not take place ; if you do, we cannot believe that Ireland is *yet* sunk to that state of mis-government, in which it may be truly said, that although the great body of the people seriously feel the justice of a measure, and are seriously determined on its attainment, it is nevertheless impracticable.

To you, among our countrymen, for whose welfare we have peculiarly laboured from the first moment of our institution, and the contemplation of whose prosperity will more than compensate us for the sufferings we may have endured, for the calumnies with which we are assailed, and for those which the publication of this unpalatable plan will call down upon us ; *To you, the poorer classes of the community*, we now address ourselves. We

are

are told you are ignorant ; we wish you to enjoy Liberty, without which no people was ever enlightened ; we are told you are uneducated and immoral ; we wish you to be educated, and your morality improved, by the most rapid of all instructors—a good government. Do you find yourselves sunk in poverty and wretchedness ? Are you loaded with burdens, you are but little able to bear ? Do you feel many grievances, which it would be tedious, and might be *unsafe* to mention ? Believe us, they can all be redressed by such a reform as will give *you* your just proportion of influence in the legislature, and by **SUCH A MEASURE ONLY**. To that therefore we wish to rivet all your attention. Let those men who wrangle about preserving or acquiring power, catch at popularity by their petty regulations to check the progress of these growing evils ; do you deliberate, in the retirement of your own hearts, upon their only adequate remedy. Desist, we entreat you, from those disturbances which are a disgrace to your country and an injury to yourselves, which impair your own strength, and impede your own cause. Examine, *peaceably and attentively*, the plan of reform we now submit to you. Consider, Does it propose to do *you* justice ? Does it propose to give *you* sufficient protection ? For we have no fears, that the rich will have justice done to them, and will be always sufficiently protected. Hang this plan up in your cabins ; think on it over and over again ; do not throw it by in despair, as being impossible to be carried into effect ; *for nothing, we hope, is impossible that is just.*

**FREE**

## TREE of LIBERTY.

To the Editor of POLITICS for the PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

So much has of late been said about the Tree of Liberty, which a neighbouring nation is endeavouring to cultivate with such ardour, that it is hoped the following botanical description of it will not be unacceptable to your readers; and particularly as it has been entirely unnoticed by the celebrated Swedish botanist Linnæus.

I am, &c.

A POLITICAL GARDENER.

THIS plant belongs to the class *Polyandria* and order *Polygamia*; it is an ever-green, and possesses the peculiar advantage of growing in any soil or climate capable of supporting inhabitants, provided it be properly cultivated and kept clear of caterpillars and other insects which love to feed upon it, and which will destroy it in the most luxuriant soil, if they be not carefully swept away. It has been found flourishing among several rude nations: but it is only lately that *civilized* people have thought of cultivating it. Botanists have disputed whether it was indigenous in this island; some have denied it, but I am inclined to think that it did formerly grow here in a luxuriant manner; for, in the days of Alfred, we read of the whole nation reposing under its branches. Subsequent monarchs, however, ordered it to be cut down and burnt, and inflicted the severest penalties on any who attempted to cultivate it; and so strictly were their orders observed, that scarce a single plant was left in the whole island.

About the year 1688, some few plants were discovered on the barren Cambrian mountains which had escaped the  
the

the general order of destruction ; these attracted the attention of the people, and even interested the legislature so much that they passed several wise and salutary laws to enforce their cultivation ; and declared, that if this was neglected, famine, or some *worse* calamity would befall the nation. Under these wise regulations, the Tree of Liberty flourished exceedingly for some time, and the inhabitants of this favoured isle grew fat upon its fruit, and reposed under the shade of its branches, envied by all their European neighbours, who had not a single plant of this tree among them. In time, however, the people, seeing it flourish in this manner, imagined that it would do so without cultivation ; and, being naturally indolent, they neglected it so much, that it soon began every where to be infested by caterpillars, which caused so great a devastation, that there are scarcely any plants left in the island, and those few are so sickly, that it is to be feared, without diligent exertion, they will not recover.

When the culture of this tree was prohibited here, as I before noticed, numbers who had eaten of its delicious fruit, took plants over with them to America, thinking they could there cultivate it in their gardens without molestation—nor were they mistaken ; for they not only found themselves at liberty to plant as many as they pleased, but were likewise agreeably surprised to find the soil so peculiarly favourable to the young plants, that they sent out immediately the most luxuriant branches, and produced plenty of fruit. In short, there was nothing to impede the growth of those trees, excepting a few plants of the *Monandria* class, which had been planted among them by some of those who went over from this island ; and, as the ash tree is destructive of vegetables which grow under it, and the Upas, or Poison Tree, in the island of  
Java,

Java, will not suffer any animal or vegetable to exist within some miles of it, so plants of the *Monandria* class are exceedingly unfavourable to the Tree of Liberty, continually making encroachments on it with their enormous branches ; and though in England this tree formerly flourished, it was owing to the branches of the *Monandria* plants being kept constantly lopped. Some years ago an attempt was made to extirpate this tree from America ; and this was to have been done by the increased cultivation of the *Monandria* plants ; for which purpose a number of British gardeners were sent over with pruning knives, &c. and some Hessian and Hanoverian gardeners were hired to assist them, it being thought that they were more expert in the cultivation of the *Monandria* plants. The inhabitants, however, had experienced the good effects of the fruit, and sooner than suffer the tree to be extirpated, were determined to lay down their lives ;—they made a glorious struggle ; and having invoked and obtained the assistance of the French, were at last enabled to send those foreign gardeners home ; and, in order, in future, to secure to themselves the full enjoyment of this fruit, they were determined to destroy every plant of the *Monandria* class, which they effectually did ; and, since that time, the Tree of Liberty has flourished among them in a manner before unknown, and really astonishing. The French, who went over to assist the Americans, tasted there the fruit of this tree, which they found very delicious ; and, as it was totally unknown in their own country, they determined to carry back with them a few plants, which took root ; and, notwithstanding the obstruction they met with from the great number of the *Monandria* class, have gained such strength as, in their turn, to extirpate from among them the whole of the class *Monandria*. There

are still, indeed, many *weeds* of this class growing round them, which threaten to encroach upon, and choak up the Trees of Liberty ; but it is probable, that the inhabitants will soon be able to eradicate and clear their soil from every root of them.

Before I conclude, it may be expected that I should say something concerning the nature and effects of the fruit of this tree.—When eaten in proper quantity, it wonderfully exhilarates the spirits, and enables those who eat it to bear the severest fatigue or pain without sinking, and to undergo any labour, or to complete almost any undertaking. It is particularly favourable to the culture of the arts and sciences, enlivening the wit and genius, like the juice of the grape or poppy, though the spirits it gives are not of that turbulent kind, but serene, steady, and lasting, and not followed with that languor which is the consequence of a free use of those juices ; it possesses, however, one property in common with them, viz. that those who have been for some time accustomed to it, when deprived of it are exceedingly languid, melancholy, and dejected, which effects vanish on again eating it.

If this account should be favourably received, it is probable that I may soon send you a description of several plants which are favourable or inimical to the growth of this tree, with observations on the best methods of cultivating them.

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### TO THE KING.

SIR,

THE infamy of your ministers becomes every day more and more notorious. Scarce an hour passes without bringing to light some new crime or misdemeanor, of which

which they have been guilty. To fill the highest measure of iniquity, they want nothing but to have their arms red with murder, and without the intervention of inferior agents to be drenched in the blood of the people. This is the point, at which they aim ; for it is necessary to the security of their crimes. Their heads depend upon the doubtful issue of an unjust war. Thus to save themselves they risk the stability of your throne. I fear they will prove too successful in their dark and treasonable scheme. If the desires of the people be not soon gratified, by a reformation of parliament and the dismissal of the present ministry, they will be driven to despair and madness. Seeing their liberties and properties endangered by the corruption and treachery of those, to whom their authority is delegated, they will be apt to exercise, what God and nature have given them, the right of punishing unfaithful servants, and substituting others in their place.

What will become of your Majesty in this dreadful shock ? I tremble to think of the consequences, when the people are ranged on one side, and you and your ministers on the other. It is not every one that will distinguish between the master and the servant in such rencounters. Kings, to be sure, are privileged, and may do many deeds unpunished which would bring certain destruction on the heads of ordinary mortals. Were I entrusted with the affairs of a society, and were I to manage them by the hand of thieves, robbers, and murderers, I should be considered as little better than my agents. *But kings can do no wrong.* That is the maxim by which you expect your actions are to be tried. It would be a very good one, at least very convenient, did not the generality of men find it too hard of digestion, and think the mention of it an affront upon their understanding, which can allow it

to be no more applicable to a temporal than to a spiritual prince. The infallibility of the Pope has been long exploded in this island. The minds of men are of a very encroaching nature; no sooner have they overturned the main pillar of church-craft, but they endeavour to unhinge the corner-stone of king-craft. By some fatality, the people of this land, like those in a neighbouring country, have very little faith in the infallibility of kings.

But, though they do not deify them, yet have they still a little reverence for the name; but it is a sure sign that a prince has lost the brightest jewel in his crown, the affections of his people, when papers freely canvassing his conduct are bought with avidity, and read with pleasure. The very sound of majesty covers a multitude of sins. When that veil begins once to be penetrated by the profane eyes of the vulgar, it is time to steer a new course; *tempus dare vela retrorsum*: the character of the prince is as little sacred as the mysteries of state. Writers will, like Sir Thomas Hales in Charles's days, expose with as much freedom as impunity, the nakedness of the sovereign, and receive the thanks and applauses of an approving people.

A king of England is the most inexcusable of men, if he remains long unpopular; because, in spite of all the arts used by the sycophants in power, the voice of the nation soon becomes clear and strong, and drowns the noisy clamours of an interested faction: and a king who does not listen to its persuasions, and thus regain its confidence, is unworthy of his crown; indeed he is, in the eye of reason, fallen from his regal dignity; as the majority, from whom alone he can derive legal authority, pronounce in their hearts the sentence of his deposition.

It is in vain that he pretends to consult their interest by opposing their inclinations, and substituting his own will for their express and declared opinion. In the multitude of counsellors is wisdom and safety. The danger of such a step can be equalled only by its presumption. For what can be a greater mockery of common sense, than to make the decrees of millions reverfible by the caprice of a single man ?

But why do I urge this point ? Surely none but your Majesty's and the kingdom's enemies, to whom you will not listen, can advise you to fet your face againft your people, by refusing a reformation in parliament.

It is well worth your obfervation, that no fingle atom of the prerogative is neceffarily entailed upon the crown. The whole power known under that name, was either granted or tolerated by the people for their own good. Therefore, when any part of it no longer answers that end, they have a right to refume it into their own hands. They have often ftripped their fovereigns of the whole, much more may they ftrip them of a part. Will it then be improper for you to confider, whether the people may not, by an obftinate refusal of that point, be tempted to retrench the prerogative ? Unreasonable oppofition to their juft demands has frequently been attended with fuch confequences. The more tenacious the crown has been of any obnoxious power, the more it has loft ; and the events in a neighbouring nation teach us, that the people have feldom ftopped fhort upon gaining the original object of their quarrel : they have fometimes proceeded fo far in their reformation, as to leave the crown naked and defencelefs, nay, wholly to deftroy it.

Who knows but they may reaffume this privilege ? Now that parliaments are feptennial, which is nearly the fame

as if they were perpetual, this step is as necessary as it seems legal and constitutional. All members of parliament being deputies or commissioners, their constituents have a right to annul their commission; whenever they please, and to appoint others in their stead, under such circumstances as they may think proper. The constitution cannot surely have placed the public in general upon a worse footing in this respect than private individuals. In my domestic economy I am authorised, both by natural and positive law, to discharge an unworthy servant: who will have the effrontery to assert, that the nation is not entitled to a like right? It has, I own, been little exercised; and the reason is, that parliaments being originally temporary, and of very short duration, there was no occasion, or indeed possibility, of putting it in practice. But as no custom, no prescription, can justify illegal acts, so no disuse can annul the natural charter, the birth-right of a nation. The claim of the English to recal deputies and change the form of their government if they think proper, is as valid as if every page of the journals of the lower house bore witness to its continual exercise. Whether they will chuse to revive this long dormant claim at the present juncture, cannot be very problematical, if your Majesty does not prevent it by a parliamentary reformation. Since they have once adopted the mode of petitioning, they will wait to see what redress it will procure them. Should they be disappointed, they must strike into this path, which I have pointed out. Had they done it at first, they would have perhaps discovered more reverence for the constitution, and displayed more wisdom than is observable in their present conduct.

A FREEHOLDER.

To the Editor of *POLITICS for the PEOPLE.*

Mr. Editor,

The following political fragment, published in the year 1770, has attracted my attention, and as the objects it complains of have been growing rapidly worse, instead of better, I could wish you to give it a place in your work, intitled '*Politics for the People,*' that the public may be convinced of the necessity of taking some more decisive steps, than merely complaining or petitioning.

St. James's, March 25, 1794.

A. Z.

EVERY thing in this country wears the aspect of an *Aristocracy*, that worst and most detestable kind of tyranny. The *riot act*, the *game act*, the *marriage act*, have a direct tendency to it: nay, the very *road act*, in the partial and peremptory manner it is conducted and executed, squints the same way; for almost the whole width of the public roads is devoted to the accommodation of the *great*, who whisk through them in their giddy carriages, leaving only a scanty unguarded foot path to the people, that is to say, the mob; who indeed may as well be crushed to death under their insolent wheels, as shot, like wild beasts, by Gilham, and his blood-thirsty Marks-men of the North.

The *Nobles* have not only engrossed almost all the land property of the kingdom, but *factiously* usurped the conduct and direction of its government. Of course, the whole tide of power and royal courtesy sets their own way, without the least ebb, or even a remission. Hence none but such as enjoy the luck of being their relations or necessary tools, have a chance to be any thing worth being, either in church, state, army, navy, or any of the numerous public offices that have good salaries, or better perquisites annexed

annexed to them.—All, all are consecrated gifts, predestinated to those *honourable elect*, who are thus fated from the womb to the possession of a present heaven—the only one they aspire to enjoy.

But is not the privilege of *complaining* some comfort?—and have the *Great* not left to the *Little*, that is to say, the *Commons*, this one consolation however? I answer, no.—For *these* may neither utter nor write their wrongs, but at the hazard of pillory or extraordinary fines and imprisonments, *preceded* by the ordinary torture of informations, attachments, and interrogatories, which leave not the least loop-hole for the guilty, nor hardly for the *innocent*, to escape: and, what is almost as cruel, all these punishments are in the hands of a person, whose heart *apparently* chuckles in the infliction and diffusion of them.

In short, a people in this forlorn wretched state, without any friend at court, or in the Upper or in the Lower House (even that House where their own *foolish bauble* is for form sake extended on a table) have nothing else to do but voluntarily fling their bodies upon the streets, to make a pavement for the curricles of their masters; yet more acceptable than the present one of Scotch pebbles; or what perhaps would be a wiser course, as it might reverse their situations, strike off, without the least ceremony——— *Cætera desunt*.

LUCIUS JUNIUS.

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*Answer to Correspondents in our next.*

# Politics for the People.

PART II.

N U M B E R X.

Price Two-pence.

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MR. GERRALD.

*Having, in different numbers of this work, given various addresses to Messrs. Muir, &c. we think it our duty to give a place to the following Letters of Condolance, which have been transmitted to the above Patriot.*

FROM EDINBURGH.

*Friend and Fellow Citizen,*

THE Societies of the Friends of the People in Edinburgh, having lately offered their tribute of gratitude to Citizens Skirving and Margarott, beg leave to address you, whom they consider as equally dear, and equally valuable.

Unavailing as our expressions of regard unfortunately are, we deem ourselves bound to return you our thanks  
for

for that attention and zeal for the cause of the people, which you have unceasingly manifested, and for asserting which you have so lately fallen a victim.

We thank you for your noble and unshaken behaviour on your late trial, and for the honour which, on that day, you reflected on our cause. In particular we thank you for your firm and manly defence of the great principles of justice, of Universal Suffrage, of Annual Parliaments, and of Resistance against Oppression, sentiments in which we heartily coincide with you.

We behold you at the same time with a mixture of envy and regret. Great is the task which you are called to perform, and we hope and trust that great will be your reward. Of this be assured, that death alone will blot from our minds the recollection of what you have suffered for our sakes. Our children shall be taught to list out your name as the martyr of Freedom—our youth shall be animated by so glorious an example. And when (an event we hope not far distant) the united voice of your admiring countrymen shall recal you to your native shore, your name shall be inscribed in that roll which contains that of Algernon Sydney, who, like you, braved the shock of despotism in asserting the rights of the people, and whose memory will live for ever in the hearts of Britons.

Signed, by order of the General Committee,

JAMES CARMICHAEL.

*Edinburgh, Mar. 18,*

1794.

FROM LEEDS.

*Respected Friend and Fellow Citizen,*

I F, for your public conduct; there be any consolation in having the approbation of the Friends of Freedom, we,  
the

the Leeds Constitutional Society, declare, that your conduct has been well pleasing in our eyes ; and we give you our hearty and unfeigned thanks for it ; and we hope to see the day when you, and our other suffering friends, shall receive the reward justly due to the supporters of Justice and Truth—when your enemies and our enemies shall come to naught, and receive that reward which is due to their manifold crimes and oppressions.

In looking at our present state, and in expectation of a worse instead of a better, we are obliged to envy your situation ; for while you will be at peace, (though in an inhospitable land) we shall have to undergo the rage and tyranny of the Possessors of Power, when we must be obliged to acknowledge the truth of the words of Solomon, in praising the dead more than the living !

The glorious cause of Freedom has ever been opposed by the vile Satellites of Tyrants, and you are not the first who have fallen a martyr in the great and good cause—a cause which the wicked and abominable, corrupt, croaking placemen and pensioners, and court-sycophants, wish at this day to smother.

Worthy Citizen, we will think of your patriotism (notwithstanding Corruption's croaking) with admiration. We will pray to the God of the immortal Joshua, that he would comfort you in the midst of all your distresses, and that he would ever attend you ; that your voyage to the inhospitable climate may be pleasant, and that when he shall release you from the troubles of this present evil world, he would

“ Lead you, raptur'd, to your radiant home ;

“ Where all the myriads of the ransom'd throng

“ Shall hail you welcome to the Mount of Bliss.”

*Leeds, March 24, 1794.*

FROM

## FROM SHEFFIELD.

*Friend,*

HE whose patriotism shall immortalize his name,—whose virtues shall embalm his memory, and whose actions, brightening through the circles of advancing ages, shall illuminate the latest posterity,—is not the man whom we pity and condole,—but whom we esteem, admire, and revere. Impressed with the most cordial sentiments, the Friends of Peace and Freedom in Sheffield, congratulate you upon your late glorious exertions in the cause of injured humanity: we even congratulate you upon that unjust and cruel sentence, wherewith your tyrants have crowned and rewarded your testimony of the truth, and the *et.* stamped with eternal infamy their own names—names which posterity shall never pronounce without execrations. Hard and heavy as the fate of that devoted victim may appear, whom Scottish mercy deems to drag the load of existence, rendered intolerable by the agonies of slavery, in a foreign and a savage land; cruel as his lot may be, who, in the bright meridian of life, when the brisk blood of genius throbs in every pulse and courses through his veins, and warm philanthropy expands his generous soul, yet who, like you, is torn a living rib from the bleeding side of his country, and hurled from the sphere of social bliss, amongst blaspheming felons and wretched outlaws; but when *such is the reward of virtue*, who would not triumph thus to suffer for Virtue's sake? Who would not think the blessings of unborn millions cheaply purchased by such a sacrifice?

Illustrious victim! willing exile! how shall we part? We must submit—But oh! leave, leave thy mantle behind

hind as an inestimable legacy to those who may dare to tread in thy footsteps, which shall never be effaced from the soil of Britain.

Go then, Martyr of Truth ! armed with conscious innocence, fortified with invincible patience ; go, thou hast done thy duty—it is not in man to do more, and he that does less is criminal. Farewel.

Signed, by order of the Committee of the Sheffield  
Constitutional Society,

W. BROOMHEAD, Sec.

*Sheffield Mar. 24, 1794.*

### AMERICAN SENTIMENTS.

Very different assertions having been made with respect to the opinions held by the people of America, on the subject of the present contest between France and the Combined Powers of Europe, the following Extract is given from a Philadelphia Paper of the 20th of December last.

**T**HE Friends of Freedom wait with anxious expectation and solicitude to hear from their brethren of France ; they feel deeply interested in their prosperity and happiness ; having themselves experienced the devastation and cruelty of Tyrants, they cannot but sympathise with those who are exposed to their barbarities, while struggling in the defence of Liberty and Independence.

The cause of France is the most glorious and philanthropic, in which a nation of freemen can engage ; it is no less than restoring man to that original state of dignity and respectability in which the Author of his existence at first placed him. Notwithstanding the subtle arts of despots, like those of Satan of old, may for a season deceive the

the

the nations, yet the period is proudly advancing, when the Guardian Angel of Freedom shall descend, and place the "flaming sword which turneth every way," to secure from danger the Tree of Liberty.

## THE NEW VICAR OF BRAY;

OR,

### WHA WANTS ME?

(This Song may be read either in Scotch or English.)

ONCE more, my friends, in blithsome note,  
My loyal lays I'll sing,  
Still ready at a call to vote  
For Minister and King;  
Be who will King, who will Premier,  
'Tis a ane to me,  
For still my constant cry they'll hear,  
Sirs, wha wants me?

When London corresponding Folks  
Set up the Rights of Man,  
My anger glow'd like red-hot coals †,  
Against the desp'rate plan.  
For help then, trembling P—t apply'd,  
Left hanged he should be,  
And I stepp'd forth, and boldly cried,  
Sirs, wha wants me?

† A Scotch word, signifying red-hot cinders.

When

When Louis had betray'd his land,  
 To please his wanton Queen,  
 And was by Sans Culottes condemn'd  
 Unto the guillotine,  
 In cause of Kings, a hero bold,  
 I buzz'd like any bee,  
 And cried aloud, to win their gold,  
 Sirs, wha wants me?

When rebels stout †, who late presum'd  
 To liberate the nation,  
 For fourteen years were justly doom'd  
 To lenient transportation,  
 It puzzl'd every head fac auld,  
 To sanction their decree,  
 Till I got up, and loudl̃y bawl'd,  
 Sirs, wha wants me?

When Hessians, on the British shore,  
 First set their hireling feet,  
 Our virgin Premier trembl'd fore  
 The Parliament to meet.  
 Close at his side I kept me snug,  
 Resolv'd it right should be,  
 And sily whisper'd in his lug,  
 Now, wha wants me?

Not long ago, by news so strange,  
 The town was in alarms,  
 And, troth, I thought the Stock Exchange  
 Wou'd all have taken arms.

† Margarott, Skirving, Muir, Palmer, &c.

To

To give them guns to guard their brass,  
I never could agree,  
For then in vain, might poor DUNDAS  
Cry, wha wants me ?

But should these frightful French come here  
With fifty thousand men ;  
If they give bribes I've nought to fear,  
I'll turn my coat again,  
To save my neck a Sans Culotte  
Directly will I be,  
And cry, in hopes to win a groat,  
Sirs, wha wants me ?

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MR. EDITOR,

I HERE send you a story which I have transcribed from a fragment of an old book of voyages. The name of the island on which the author was *cast away*, happens to be torn out ; nor is there any thing remaining that might enable me to form a probable conjecture in what part of the globe it is situated.

—We were then (says the author) conducted to the market-place, where we observed a man, tolerably well dressed, confined in a cage, and a prodigious concourse of people dancing round him, shouting, Liberty! Liberty! On asking the meaning of all this ; “ That man in the cage (said our conductor) is the Genius of Liberty, our chief idol: contradiction is our *primum mobile*, the spring of all our actions, and therefore we always worship liberty in a cage.”—“ And, pray Sir, (I replied) does the genius submit to his confinement voluntarily ?”—No, (I was answered)

swered) we accused him of *singing a ballad*, which, we proved, he did *not sing*, and therefore, according to our first principle of contradiction, we condemned him to the cage." We then quitted the market-place, and proceeded to take a view of the other parts of the town. As we walked along, I had the following conversation with our conductor, which, to avoid repetition, I shall set down in the way of dialogue.

B. I suppose you feed the genius on bread and water.

C. No: I told you that we are guided in all our actions by contradiction. We feed him better than our King; whom, for the same reason, we constantly abuse, and endeavour to make as miserable as we can.

B. I understand then you are governed by a king.

C. No: we have a king whom we govern. Our constitution is the finest in the world. It is neither monarchical, aristocratical, nor democratical; but an *incomprehensible* mixture of all three.

B. Incomprehensible! What, *do not you understand your own form of government?*

C. No: but *we like it the better for that.*

B. What is the chief prerogatives of your king?

C. To beg his bread, and be permitted the privilege of choosing his own servants.

B. And what is the peculiar business of the aristocratical part of your legislature?

C. To poize the balance between the other two branches, by always leaping into *one scale.*

B. The democratical part?

C. O! they are the chief guardians of our liberty, which they religiously preserve *by leaping into the same scale with the other two parts.*

B. But how do you elect these guardians of your liberty?

C. Free

C. Free elections, Sir, all free elections ; that is, *we sell them our votes as dear as possible.*

B. And so then you are governed by these three branches as you call them.

C. No : we constitute them our governors, and then *we* govern them ; they are our servants.

B. Do you pay them wages ?

C. No ; they pay us ; and we pay another to pay them.

B. Strange system ! If I understand you right, these legislative servants have no power at all.

C. Very great power. They have the power to TAKE FROM US ALL OUR MONEY, and to break our heads with it for diversion. If any of us, their masters, snap his finger at one of their slaves, they have the power to fine, imprison, and even condemn us to worship on our knees the idol which we have set up.

B. And who are the judges of his offence ?

C. They themselves.

B. What ! themselves the judges in offences committed against themselves ? Monstrous !

C. It is even so. But what you will think a still greater proof of the excellence of our constitution, when these servants of our's are assembled, and employed in transacting our business, we suffer them to shut the door against their masters, at the instigation of the most insignificant and weakest of their members ; and this we suffer because it is the most effectual way to destroy our constitution, which we endeavour to destroy, because it is the happiest constitution in the world.

B. Well, and how do you treat your king ?

C. When we do not like what he says, or does we tell him downright lies ; that is, we call him the father of his people, and the best of kings, because we dislike every action of his life.

B. How

B. How do agree among one another ? Are you unanimous in your political opinions ?

C. By no means. We are divided into two parties, called Wigs and Night-caps.

B. Pray what are those ?

C. By Wigs, we mean FRIENDS TO THE KING, and the present royal family ; by the latter, are understood friends to another family, that pretend to a *prior right* to the crown.

B. So that the Wigs have all the lucrative employments, and are the king's particular favourites ?

C. There again you are mistaken ; he prefers the Night-caps.

B. You astonish me ! and are these Night-caps about his person ?

C. They are.

B. Why so ?

C. Because they have been always the inveterate enemies of his family.

This, Sir, is all I can recover of this strange fragment, and am

Your humble servant,

BLANK.

*To the Editor of* **POLITICS** *for the* **PEOPLE.**

MR. EDITOR,

**T**HE triumph of Mr. E—— and his Game Cock seems to have led you to the indulgence of much greater liberties than you formerly even pretended to. You now address the throne itself, and *dare* to dispute the propriety of every thing our present ministers do ; nay, your publication is become the grand vehicle for the **SEDITION** which

which is manufactured in every corner of the kingdom ; but all this I had passed by in silent contempt, had you not intruded on your readers a *curfed, confounded chain of nonsense* about a *TREE of LIBERTY*.

Stupid blockhead ! What have we to do with the *Tree of Liberty* ? If you had thought proper to introduce the *seditious* subject at all, it should have been for the sake of *slandering* it—of *damning* it—of convincing the gaping *crew* who so greedily read your work, that, of all trees, the *Tree of Liberty* is the most *unfightly* in a civilized country ; that the odour of its blossoms is more *disagreeable* to the olfactory nerves of courtiers and their masters, than *assafoetida* ; and that its fruit is more *dangerous* to the Swinish Multitude than all the seeds of all the thistles ever imported from that famous country, which boasts that monstrous—that *inspired* city, *sweet Edinbro'*, where *patriotic* sterility never suffered it to bud ;—where the fiat of a minister, to gratify the pride, and assuage the malice of an enraged individual, can render Judges *infalible*, and the Courts *omnipotent* !—that its fruit is more dangerous than all the seeds of all those thistles are to the honest, the industrious farmer. Had you done this, you would have done something—Eut, in short, I know not what to think of you, or how to act with you.

Does it require the pen of a conjuror to tell us, that the *Tree of Liberty* was first planted by the Almighty, as the choicest blessing He could bestow on the favourites of His creation ?—that it flourished uninterruptedly, till the people, *besotted* with happiness, besought a *King* to prune it for them ? and that, from that very instant it declined, until a people more wise thought proper to take it into their own cultivation ; whence it again began to resume its former fertile splendour.—Does it require a conjuror to tell

tell all this? Is there one of us who does not know it; though he may feel it his interest to seem ignorant of it? for we all know that the cultivation of that tree is far from profitable in the soil of courts. No more of your *Tree of Liberty* then, Mr. Editor, if you wish to merit our friendship and escape a prison; but proceed instantly to matters more favourable to us.

If ever the influence of Editors and Printers to deceive the public, I mean, to amuse them, was necessary, it is particularly so at present, when our hands are so full we know not where to set a subject down, nor what to take up next. That infernal motion for an Address in behalf of Mr. Burke's *Bugaboo*, Monsieur La Fayette, has unhinged us most horribly. It is true, we negatived the business with ease; but we, at the same time forfeited the interest of four millions of Frenchmen, who were devoted to the Constitution of 1789, and looked on La Fayette as the *projector*, the *supporter*, the *martyr* for that Constitution. It is true, we had the pleasure of pointing our revenge at the man who dared to attempt the emancipation of twenty-five millions of people from the most abject, the most intolerable slavery, and oppose the would-be almighty power of a despotic king; but from that very moment we may bid adieu to all further diversions in our favour by the people of La Vendee: so that, as we now perceive we have, according to a gross adage, peculiar to your class of readers, *cut off our nose to wreak vengeance on our face*, you may naturally suppose we are not very cordial at the discovery.

The king of Prussia, that *astounding phenomenon of anointed race*! He too—I beg pardon, I mean his exalted Majesty, perplexes us intolerably. Conscious that the whole of us are not a match for twenty-five millions

of

Of free people, he yet will not suffer the mass of some tyrannic German states to be drawn out to *crush* the banditti; left, with arms in their hands, they should feel themselves Men, and prefer liberty to thralldom. How *filly* an idea, to imagine that *slaves would pant for freedom!* We have hitherto entertained a tolerable opinion of his politics, but this exceeds even our understanding: and yet we shall be obliged to compliment him with an annual stipend, equal to the establishment of George II. purely to cajole the world a little longer; that we may astonish the multitude with the *wondrous* prowess of our martial abilities; while leagued with almost all Europe against one free nation, unless he should make a better bargain with the French Commissioners, and then we shall be in a blessed predicament indeed.

The Empress of Russia, too, that *anointed Alexander in petticoats*; has baffled all our system of politics adapted to the regions of the Baltic. Instead of the twelve sail of the line, and forty thousand soldiers to assist our arms in Germany, which she taught us to expect, as well as blockading the Swedish and Danish victualling ports, she, forsooth, has commenced *Pope Czarina*, and, in a crusade of her own, is going to expel those *horrid* monsters the Turks out of Europe, that she may enjoy the delectable pleasure of inhaling the refreshing breezes of the gardens of Adrianople, and contemplate on the extravagant delights of a Mahometan seraglio; so that we shall not long have the whole exertions of the Emperor against the French; as a great part of his forces will be compelled to make a diversion in favor of the Grand Signor, lest her Ladyship should, after expelling his Sublime Highness from the Porte, take a fancy to some of the palaces of Vienna also.

These

These are causes of no trivial discontent among us; I assure you, Mr. Editor; and add to these, the alarming force of the French in the American harbours; their astonishing success in *our* Channel; their indefatigable exertions at Toulon, and their very formidable fleet in *Brest*; to say nothing of preparations against *Jersey*, which have at length awakened our apprehensions for its safety, and of motions in the *Houses*, which we can get rid of only by previous questions, that still, in spite of all our endeavours to hoodwink, do but betray our imbecility. Reflect on these accumulating difficulties, and you will not fail to see how much we require your assistance; and how infinitely mortified we must have been at your adding fuel to the fire of our adversaries, by madly expatiating in the praise of their *damnable* and *heretical* Tree; the Tree of Liberty.

Yours, &c.

March 24, 1794.

ARISTOCRATE.

TO THE

EARL of STANHOPE,

*On his late Motion in the House of Lords.*

"Nor number, nor example, with him wrought  
 "To serve from truth, or change his constant mind,  
 "Though single." MILTON.

STANHOPE! let rival statesmen loudly plead  
 Their fond attachment to the public weal;  
 In vain they seek the patriot's honour'd meed,  
 Who rests supine till rous'd by party zeal.

'Twas

'Twas thine for man the generous pang to feel,  
As late each courtly peer and prelate flood,  
Heedless of wounded Pity's meek appeal,  
Unmov'd, though Peace, the lovely matron, sued !

With Truth's strong pencil dipp'd in human blood,  
'Twas thine to picture Europe's new crusade ;  
Thine ere the bark of vengeance pass'd our flood,  
Alone to rise in suffering virtue's aid.  
Scorn'd by the great, yet honour'd by the good,  
Who for the Patriot twine a wreath that ne'er shall fade.  
J. T. R.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The prophetic passages from the Revelations, by a FRIEND to OLD ENGLAND, do not appear to us applicable to the present times.

CATO's Letter, Petition, and Hand-bill, are conveyed where he wished them to have been originally sent.

A REPUBLICAN is informed that, at a future period, his free translation of the Marfellois Hymn shall have a place.—His sonnet to MUIR, PALMER, &c. we conceive exceptionable, not on account of its composition, but its sentiments :—we cannot so far yield to despondency, as to conceive them “ banished never, never to return.” On the contrary, we trust that the time is not far distant, when the public virtue of this, at present, unhappy country will triumph over despotism, and hail them back to its shores. In the mean time, we cannot in any light view their banishment as a “ god-like plan.”

ONE of the GRUNTERS and S. B. are inadmissible.

# Politics for the People.

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1794

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*To the Editor of POLITICS for the PEOPLE:*

MR. EDITOR,

If you think right to throw the following morsel into the hog trough, you are welcome. I leave it wholly to your better judgment, to say, whether it be good enough to feed SWINE, or not. I know if you think the whole, or any part of it, good enough, you will throw it in; if, on the other hand, you think it not worth the trouble, you have my permission to throw it any where you think proper. I am,

Sincerely, your friend,

VINDEX.

*Thoughts on the alledged Infidelity, &c. of the  
French Nation.*

THE French are now accused, in the most public and unequivocal manner, by all *passive obedience and non-resistance* MEN, placemen, pensioners, and lovers of ancient systems, whether they be good, bad, or indifferent, of being  
a nation

a nation of irreligious, immoral, inhuman Atheists ; enemies to all well regulated societies ; in fine, such determined enemies to Christianity, morality, and virtue, that it is rendering God service to cut them off from the land of the living. I feel myself warranted in asserting the above, from the *moderate, pacific speeches* daily made use of by the *genuine, moral, and christian-like characters* composing the majorities in our upper and lower houses of Parliament : and also from the curses and anathemas daily poured forth against them, in our *independent and truly patriotic* TREASURY PRINTS. In short, I have had so much of their infidelity, immorality, and inhumanity, continually sounded in my ears, that I have almost been ready to believe, that the French were wholly inexcusable, and that they almost really deserved to undergo all their enemies wish. But upon sitting down and minutely revolving in my mind the situation of France before the Revolution, and the occurrences that have happened since that period, I am persuaded, that, as to their irreligion, which is so much taken notice of, no *liberal and really Christian-like character* can be astonished at it. The French, for the most part, prior to the Revolution, like other nations, knew not what religion was ; they mistook an empty round of ceremonies for it ; and who, that thinks at all on the subject, can avoid feeling contempt for the systems of folly and superstition that have been imposed by artful priests on a credulous public, for the realities of religion.

Infidelity is the necessary consequence of the imposition of an intolerant superstition on mankind : taught to consider this absurd nonsense as the religion of Christ, and having neither opportunity nor encouragement to enquire into the nature and spirit of the genuine religion of the gospel,

pel, it cannot be surprising, that when a Nation's BODIES and MINDS are freed from shackles which have long depressed them, that they should reject, with aversion and contempt, what is so obviously inconsistent with reason, and so contrary to true religion. Infidelity, it is allowed on all hands, was prevalent in France long before the Revolution, and it more or less prevails in every European country, and the public profession of it is restrained only by the dread of the civil and ecclesiastical powers. But let us wait a little longer, and see the blessings of peace spread its benign influence over that delightful country, and then we shall see, that France will not only be the most delightful country in the world for the productions of nature, but we shall see RELIGION SHINE in its TRUE COLOURS ; for it never can shine in its resplendent lustre if it be obliged to bow its head to *any kind of religious test or establishment*.

The French have wisely decreed that politics shall not interfere in the least with religion, by which, having left religion to itself, if it be divine, and really necessary to our salvation, it will support itself, as it has before done against its surrounding enemies, and, in the end, will be victorious, and continue to shine in its genuine brightness and glory. On the other hand, in all countries where religion and politics are united, religion is made a mere tool of, a ladder for knaves to climb into power upon ; and, as a natural consequence, presently sinks into a mere name. As to the political violent extremes into which the French have unfortunately deviated, it was perfectly natural for them to despise and hate the government under which, *though in itself it was completely despicable*, they had suffered so long and so much. No liberal, unprejudiced mind can be blind to the events which have given occasion and spring to those occurrences of the Revolution, which have  
afforded

afforded the enemies of liberty opportunity to proclaim the total annihilation of morality, virtue, and humanity, in that nation.

The French ever since the beginning of the Revolution have been, and still are held in constant alarm, and every moment irritated to madness, by the conduct, and, in many instances, by the successful, internal and external, secret and open, attempts and machinations, of the enemies of their revolution.

It is certain, from the testimony of reputable travellers, that the events attending the 10th of August, were provoked by the discovery of a plan to effect a counter revolution, which would have been attended with a massacre far more dreadful than that which actually took place: even Dr. Moore says, that the King and the court of Vienna played into each other's hands, and that the latter displayed hostile appearances, in order to give weight to Louis and his ministers. If the King's proposed attachment to the constitution had been confirmed by his conduct; if he had not been at once the *bully* and the *sycophant* of his people, he might have still retained their affections, and he would not have arrived at his untimely end. His fate is to be lamented, but his conduct was such as to leave the greatest suspicions, nay, I may say with propriety, proofs of his insincerity. And, since his death, has not every nerve been stretched, and every thing attempted, by the combined powers, and by internal enemies, to undermine, disorganize, disunite, and stir up the people? How then can we wonder at their committing violences? Can we suppose a people irritated as they daily are, coolly to examine every act before it is done, and every step before it is taken? Every one must certainly allow, that they

they have acted violently, and certainly contrary to what they would have done had they been cool and collected; but, from the ferment in which their minds at present are, we must not wonder if violence should continue, till the happy time of peace shall arrive, or they be totally subdued. I am as great an enemy to violence of every kind as any man, but then I will not condemn a whole nation without seriously examining the cause, and making every necessary and just allowance.

Should the combined powers succeed, the French may be exterminated, and monarchical despotism, instead of a democratical and popular government, be established in a desolated waste; but, if it be possible, it will be at such an immense expence of blood and treasure, that the conquest will be not much more ruinous to the vanquished than to the victors; and, after all, it is more easy to exterminate men than opinions.

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*To the Editor of POLITICS for the PEOPLE.*

*Fellow Citizen,*

YOUR weekly pamphlet has afforded me some amusement and instruction, and I doubt not has contributed to the illumination of many. But it has been impressed on my mind of late, that the great prevalence of the HIERARCHY in this country much impedes the circulation of that truth which necessarily aims at its destruction. Our fellow Citizens are instructed by the PRIESTS, both in the Establishment and among the Dissenters, to be "in subjection to the HIGHER POWERS;" to "render to CÆSAR the things which are Cæsar's;" not "to speak evil of Dignities," &c. And they argue, that because Christ has said that

that "his kingdom is not of this world," therefore all who call themselves Christians *have nothing to do with the POLITICS* of the country in which they live.

I will not occupy much of thy paper in endeavouring to remove the mist which the *sophistry* and knavery of these men have thrown over the minds of people. Thou request brevity, and I'll attend thereto. Let me urge the people to consider to what enormities these exhortations will lead them, if they understand them in an unqualified sense. Who are the *Higher Powers*?—the STRONGEST, the MOST CUNNING, and the MOST VILLAINOUS of mankind. What are the things which are *Cæsar's*? *Whatever Cæsar CHUSES to call his own*, be it thy money, thy house, or the wife of thy bosom. Hence Samuel's description of a Cæsar's claim, is a description but too just, as awful experience has proved to most nations who have been so unfortunate as to be subjected to their power.

"He will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties; and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, *even the best of them*, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his servants. And he will take your men servants, and your maid servants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put *them* to his work. He will take the tenth of your sheep; and ye shall be his servants.

"vants. And ye shall cry out in that day, because of  
 "your King which ye shall have chosen you: and the  
 "Lord will not hear you in that day."

This description is strikingly verified throughout the  
 history of Kings, in the best and in the worst. We find  
 David carrying it to the most abominable length, 2 Sam.  
 xi. 1—4.

"And it came to pass, after the year was expired, at  
 "the time when *KINGS go forth to battle*, that David sent  
 "Joab and his servants with him, and all Israel; and  
 "they destroyed the children of Ammon, and besieged  
 "Rabbah, but David tarried still at Jerusalem. And  
 "it came to pass in an eveningtide, that David arose from  
 "off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the King's  
 "house: and from the roof he saw a woman washing her-  
 "self; and the woman *was* very beautiful to look upon.  
 "And David sent and enquired after the woman, and *one*  
 "said, *Is not this Bath-sheba, the daughter of Eliam, the*  
 "*wife of Uriah, the Hittite?* And David sent messen-  
 "gers and took her; and she came in unto him, and he  
 "lay with her; for she was purified from her unclean-  
 "ness: and she returned unto her house."

Is it possible for a character, not entirely lost to the  
 finer feelings of honour and humanity, to refrain from  
 blushing, and from feeling the utmost indignation, while  
 reading this account, and that of the subsequent conduct  
 of this consummate tyrant?

A further proof we have of the truth of the character  
 Samuel has drawn in the person of Ahab, another des-  
 pot, 1 Kings xxi. 1—16.

"And it came to pass after these things, *that* Naboth  
 "the Jezreelite had a vineyard, which *was* in Jezreel,  
 "hard by the palace of Ahab king of Samaria. And  
 "Ahab

" Ahab spake unto Naboth, saying, Give me thy vine-  
 " yard, that I may have it for a garden of herbs, because  
 " it is near unto my house : and I will give thee for it a  
 " better vineyard than it ; or, if it seem good to thee, I  
 " will give thee the worth of it in money. And Naboth  
 " said to Ahab, The Lord forbid it me, that I should  
 " give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee. And  
 " Ahab came into his house heavy and displeased, be-  
 " cause of the word which Naboth the Jezreelite had  
 " spoken to him ; for he had said, I will not give thee the  
 " inheritance of my fathers ; and he laid him down upon  
 " his bed, and turned away his face, and would eat no  
 " bread. But Jezebel, his wife, came to him, and said  
 " unto him, Why is thy spirit so sad that thou eatest no  
 " bread ? And he said unto her, Because I spake unto  
 " Naboth the Jezreelite, and said unto him, Give me thy  
 " vineyard for money ; or else, if it please thee, I will  
 " give thee *another* vineyard for it : and he answered ; I  
 " will not give thee my vineyard. And Jezebel his wife  
 " said unto him, Dost thou now govern the kingdom of  
 " Israel ? Arise, *and* eat bread, and let thine heart be  
 " merry ; I will give thee the vineyard of Naboth the  
 " Jezreelite. So she wrote letters in Ahab's name, and  
 " sealed *them* with his seal, and sent the letters unto the  
 " elders, and to the nobles that *were* in his city, dwelling  
 " with Naboth. And she wrote in the letters, saying,  
 " Proclaim a fast, and set Naboth on high among the  
 " people : And set two men, sons of Belial, before him,  
 " to bear witness against him, saying, Thou didst blas-  
 " pheme God and the King ; and *then* carry him out, and  
 " stone him, that he may die. And the men of his city,  
 " *even* the elders and the nobles, who were the inhabi-  
 " tants in his city, did as Jezebel had sent unto them, and  
 " as

as it was written in the letters which he had sent  
 unto them. They proclaimed a fast, and set Naboth on  
 high among the people. And there came in two men,  
 children of Belial, and sat before him; and the men  
 of Belial witnessed against him, even against Naboth, in  
 the presence of the people, saying, Naboth did blas-  
 pheme God and the King; then they carried him forth  
 out of the city, and stoned him with stones that he died.  
 Then they sent to Jezebel, saying Naboth is stoned,  
 and is dead. And it came to pass when Jezebel heard  
 that Naboth was stoned, and was dead; that Jezebel said  
 to Ahab, Arise, take possession of the vineyard of Na-  
 both the Jezreelite, which he refused to give thee for  
 money: for Naboth is not alive but dead. And it came  
 to pass when Ahab heard that Naboth was dead; that  
 Ahab rose up to go down to the vineyard of Naboth the  
 Jezreelite; to take possession of it.

Happy had it been for mankind, if these had been the  
 only solitary instances; but, alas! as it was in the begin-  
 ning, it has continued to the present moment.

Who are the *Dignities* of whom we must not speak  
 evil? Why, most assuredly, the *right Reverend Fathers* in  
 God—their *Highnesses*—their *High Mightinesses*—the  
*Honorables*, and *Right Honorables*—the *Worshipfuls*, and  
*right Worshipfuls* of the earth!

Pray, friend Daniel, when thou art thinking of these  
*Dignities*, dost thou not think also of that *right worship-  
 ful, right, honourable, and right reverend IMAGE*, which  
 the great NEBUCHADNEZZAR set up in the plains of  
 Dura, and which he commanded all men to *spoke well of*,  
 and bow the knee before? And dost thou not think with  
 more veneration of thy *republican brethren*, the three  
 Jews, who spake evil and contemptuously of *this dignity*?

Yet

Was this image derived its dignity from a higher source, than did any of our modern *Lands spiritual or temporal*.

This instance, out of many contained in that book, which priests *pretend* to expound, shews that, in some respects, it is praise worthy to speak *EVIL* of *nominal dignities*, to despise and reject *nominal Higher Powers*, and to refuse Caesar some things which he may possibly claim. With respect to their argument, that "because Christ's kingdom is not of this world," therefore it is wrong for Christians to meddle with Politics; though it is so weak as to need no refutation, yet it is used as unanswerable by a certain class of the priesthood. I ask them, *Does religion implicate all the relative duties of life?* Ought it not rather to make a man a better CITIZEN, a better NEIGHBOUR, and a better FRIEND? And how can he, in his sphere, forward the interests of the society and the country to which he belongs, unless he has right *ideas* of the *nature* and *state* of its public interests, or politics?

I shall be glad to see a more able attempt to prove to our *infatuated Religionists*, that the love of our neighbour, so strongly insisted on by Jesus Christ, can only be practised to any good purpose by him, who has an enlarged view of politics in general.

*Salus Populi suprema Lex.*

Thine, in fraternity,

PORCULUS.

We have taken the liberty to make a few trivial alterations in this piece, which we trust our Fellow Citizen will excuse. We are happy to unite with him in his sentiments, and hope for his future correspondence.

*A Parody, for Mr. P—'s Perusal, on the third Scene  
of the fifth Act of Richard the Third.*

*Enter P—r from his Bed.*

**T**IS now the dead of night, and half the world is in a  
lonely, solemn darkness hung; yet I (so coy a  
dame is sleep to me) with all the weary courtship of my  
care-tired thoughts, can't win her to my arms; though  
even the stars do wink, as 'twere with over-watching.—  
I'll to my bed, and once more try to sleep her into morn-  
ing. [*Lies down, a groan is heard.*]

Ha! what means that dismal sound? Sure 'tis the echo  
of some yawning grave, that teems with an untimely ghost;  
or else the grating of some prison door, within whose  
massy bars the victims of my rage are confined, shaking  
their chains and imploring Heaven for my destruction.—  
'Tis gone! 'twas but my fancy, which ever, and anon, of  
late, spite of myself, conjures the people's murmurs to my  
ear—no matter what, I feel my eyes grow heavy. [*Sleeps.*]

*Enter the Ghost of Britannia.*

**Brit.** Oh! thou whose unrelenting thoughts, not all the  
hideous terrors of thy guilt can shake; whose conscience,  
with thy body, ever sleeps—sleep on; while I by Hea-  
ven's high ordinance, in dreams of horror wake thy fright-  
ful soul: now give thy thoughts to me; let them behold  
those gaping wounds, which thy death-dealing hand, from  
time to time, gave my anointed body; now shall thy own  
devouring conscience gnaw thy heart, and terribly revenge  
my murder.

*Enter*

*Enter the Ghost of Liberty, attended by Muir, Palmer, Margaret, Skirving, Gerrald, and other persecuted Patriots.*

*Ghost.* P-tt dream on, and let my wandering spirit grate thine ear! could not the *cause* wherein my sons were embarked; the *common, open birthright of Britons* persuade thy cruel heart to spare their liberty? Oh! 'twas a cruel deed! therefore alone unpitying, **UNPITIED SHALT THOU FALL,**

*Enter the Ghost of the late Lord Chatham.*

*Lord Chatham.* Could not the various wrongs thou didst thy country's weal, glut thy relentless soul? but that thou and Dundas must aim thy dagger at my children's life—yes at their life, unfeeling wretch! for what is life if robbed of liberty? couldst thou think that they, like thyself, would give up every claim to honour, truth, or right, and bear about a hated load of infamy—*Oh! no!* Wake then in all the hell of guilt! and let that wild despair, which now already preys upon thy mangled thoughts, be to the world a terrible example. *[Ghosts vanish.]*

*P-tt.* Spare me my life!—I do repent—their wrongs shall be redressed.—Hah! soft—'twas but a dream, but then so terrible, it shakes my soul; cold drops of sweat hang on my trembling flesh; my blood grows chilly, and I freeze with horror; O! tyrant conscience! how dost thou afflict me? Fain would I re-assume my walk; was it not terrible retreating. Who is there?

*Enter HARRY.*

*Harry.* 'Tis I,—the morn is far advanced, and all your friends are up, preparing for the House.

*P-tt.* Oh! Harry, I have had such horrid dreams!

*Harry.* Shadows!—below the statesman's heeding.

*P-tt*

*P-tt.* Now, by my every hope—shadows to night have struck more terror to the soul of P-tt, than could the whole of ten *minorities*, armed all in proof, and led by noisy Fox:

*Harry.* Be more yourself ; consider, were it but known a dream had frightened you, how would your animated foes presume on it.

*P-tt.* Perish that thought!—no—never be it said that fate itself could awe the soul of P-tt.

Hence babbling dreams, you threaten here in vain ;  
Conscience, avaunt, P-tt is himself again !  
With this †, and with my gracious Sovereign's ear,  
I'll act determined—free from ev'ry fear.

Producing the key of the Treasury.

## A TALE.

TWO beggars seated in a sunny lane,  
Each finding he'd too many to maintain,  
Began to rid them of their retinue,  
As some great folks are sometimes forc'd to do.

The one, for very spite, his tatters tore,  
And, as his fell back-biters he attack'd,  
His sanguine nails were all distain'd with gore,  
And still he crack'd and swore, and swore and crack'd.

The other, seiz'd with a religious fit,  
No longer could endure the bloody sport,  
But, quite forgetting how he had been bit,  
Stopp'd short.

Shall

- ‘ Shall we,’ says he, ‘ thus impiously employ  
 ‘ Our barb’rous hands in shedding insect blood!’
- ‘ Shall we th’ Almighty’s creatures thus destroy,  
 ‘ Created for his pleasure and our good ?
- ‘ Perhaps to bite us, they’re by God appointed,  
 ‘ And ev’ry louse may be the Lord’s anointed ;  
 ——— ‘ For, this we know,
- ‘ That some three dozen centuries ago,  
 ‘ Their ancestors were sent to plague th’ Egyptians,
- ‘ Like certain folks of certain high descriptions.’

At this, the other of his wits had doubt,  
 And at the speech his sides began to shake,  
 And soon as e’er he could for laughing speak,  
 He thus broke out,——

- ‘ Surely, my friend, thy carcase is thine own,  
 ‘ Do as thou wilt with every louse of thine,  
 ‘ Let them so please thee bite thee to the bone ;  
 ‘ But, d—n their bodies, I’ll kill mine.

This, please your kingships, is a pretty fable,  
 You’ll understand it—that is, if you’re able.

TOMMY PINDAR.

*Pet. Pin. Nepos.*

Mr. Editor,  
 You will much oblige one of your correspondents by inserting, in  
 your patriotic paper, the following lines; copied from an Ame-  
 rican paper ; they will be a farther corroboration and proof of  
 what are American sentiments on the present European contest.

*A FRIEND to LIBERTY.*

Guildhall, 1 April, 1794.

THE

# THE UNIVERSAL CONQUEST.

FROM age to age, with iron rod,  
 Slav'ry the earth's wide empire bore ;  
 She on the groaning nations trod,  
 And with her weight oppress'd them fore.

At length *America* awoke,  
 And, lifting up her star-bright eyes,  
 Resolv'd to break the shameful yoke,  
 And call'd down *Freedom* from the skies.

And lo! she comes on golden plumes,  
 And the whole continent inspires ;  
 Slav'ry to reign no more presumes,  
 But to her native shade retires.

*France*, by our great example rous'd,  
 O'erturn'd her proud despotic throne ;  
 And soon the cause shall be espous'd  
 By other realms, as she has done.

Who next will burst the servile chain ?  
 BRITAIN, the *honor* may be thine ;  
 Rise, and the *Rights of Man* maintain,  
 Nor more with Freedom's foes combine.

For tyrant power sure soon must fall,  
 Kings, Popes, and Prelates bow the knee !  
 Plain truth at last shall conquer all,  
 And make a whole world nobly free.

THE

THE PERSECUTED FRIENDS OF FREEDOM.

IN them the men behold, whose morn serene,  
 Whose noon of better life, with honour spent,  
 In virtuous purpose, or in honest act,  
 Drew fair distinction on their public name  
 From those among mankind, the nobler few,  
 Whose praise is fame :

But now with the felon-herd,  
 Robbers and outlaws number'd—A thought that stings  
 With pain the heart, and clothes the cheek with shame!  
 Then doom'd to feel what guilt alone should feel,  
 The hand of public vengeance ; arm'd by rage,  
 Not justice : rais'd to injure, not redress ;  
 To rob, not guard ; to ruin, not defend :  
 And all, O SOVEREIGN REASON ! all derived  
 From POWER that claims thy warrant to do wrong ;  
 A right divine to violate unblam'd  
 Each law, each rule, that, by himself observed,  
 THE GOD PRESCRIBES, whose sanction Kings *pretend* :

Yet from the plain good meaning of my heart  
 Be far the unhallow'd licence of abuse ;  
 Be far the bitterness of *faintly* zeal,  
 That impious hid behind the patriot's name,  
 Masks hate and malice to the legal throne,  
 In justice founded, circumscrib'd by laws  
 The prince to guard—but guard the people too :  
 Chief, one prime good to guard inviolate,  
 Soul of all worth, and sum of human bliss,  
 FAIR FREEDOM, birth-right of all thinking kinds,  
 Reason's great charter, FROM NO KING DERIV'D,  
 By none to be reclaim'd, man's right divine.

S U S.

# Politics for the People.

PART II.

N U M B E R XII.

Price Two-pence.

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L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR D. I. EATON, NO. 74, NEWGATE-STREET.

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1794.

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*Extracts from a Sermon preached in the Prison of Philadelphia,  
Dec. 12, 1793, being the Day appointed for Humiliation  
and Thanksgiving; on the ceasing of the late epidemical  
Fever. By — Dunn.*

*"The Rich and Poor meet together : the Lord is the Maker  
of them all." Prov. xxii. 2.*

"THE rich are too apt to consider themselves, *without any just ground of reasoning*, the peculiar favourites of Heaven. Distinguished by the blessings of Providence; and raised, by their rank, to an elevation above the bulk of mankind; too natural is it for them to imagine that they stand higher in the approbation of God, and possess a greater degree of moral worth, than those of their fellow sinners, who are not so highly favoured:

"The real excellence of man does not consist in his being rich—in his being a *Duke*, or a *King*; but in his being  
ing

ing a MAN, an useful member of society, the workmanship of God, in bearing his image, and in his being a candidate for immortality, an heir of glory, and a joint heir with Jesus Christ. To these glorious privileges the poor as well as the rich have an equal title. God is no distinguisher of persons. To all the real evils of life all are equally exposed. This seems to be the force of the wise man's reasoning in our text. 'The poor and the rich meet together: the Lord is the Maker of them all:' he is their common father, and they are all alike his children: 'of whom the whole family of heaven and earth are named.'

"The POOR and the RICH are equal with regard to natural faculties: education, local circumstances, peculiar habits of life and much leisure, may make a vast difference between the rich and the poor; and a public station in life, by giving full play to a man's talents, and by calling forth the higher powers of the soul into movement and exertion, may give the rich an opportunity of displaying those abilities which shall attract the admiration of a whole nation, but which, in the poor man, must be buried in oblivion. Both in profane and sacred history, we have instances recorded of persons, who, by peculiar providences, having been brought forth from obscurity to public view, have discovered such strength, fortitude, wisdom, genius and virtue, as have astonished the world. When such interpositions of Providence have not occurred, no doubt, in numberless instances, equal talents have remained for ever buried in the poor man's cottage. As in natural talents, so the poor and the rich are equally intitled to the same civil and religious privileges. With regard to the former, you, in this HAPPY COUNTRY, are highly distinguished; but it is not so in every land: The poor man,

man, while he remains an honest, industrious, and useful member of society, has a right to the protection of the laws as well as the rich—to have his little pittance secured, and his little cot protected, as the rich man has his lofty mansion and extensive possessions. *When a man has broke no law, it would be both unjust and cruel to deprive him of his Liberty, and to confine him to his cell: but such proceedings are daily practised in some countries to this day.* I BLESS THE ALMIGHTY PROVIDENCE THAT IN THIS COUNTRY AN ASYLUM IS OPENED, ‘FOR THOSE WHO ARE PERSECUTED IN ONE CITY TO FLEE INTO ANOTHER.’

“Did not God, in the highest degree; disapprove of vice, he would not have made the commission of it so repugnant to our happiness, and frequently so destructive to our very life and existence. Now, in order for God to discover his abhorrence of sin; it is necessary that he should publicly distribute his punishments among sinners. But whether we view the historic page, or consult our own observation, we find that justice is not universally executed upon sinners in this life. This world has always presented a mixed as well as a busy scene. The good and the bad are mingled in the same common mass; all exposed to the same vicissitudes, and if there be any distinction made; we, perhaps, most frequently see the wicked great in power—elevated to the highest summit of human honour—not troubled as other men—setting their mouth against the heavens—covered with violence as with a chain; whilst thousands of those of whom the world was not worthy, have been swept away by the tyrant’s sword, to gratify the freaks of cruelty, or to compass the designs of ambition. Were such characters for ever to escape punishment, how would the justice of God appear? In this world, it is true,

true, they seem to pass on without any molestation ; but, in the next, they will receive their reward. Indeed, in this life, in some few instances, we see conscience enthroned in the seat of judgment, and compelling the guilty to pass sentence on themselves. The cruel brethren of Joseph said one to another, ‘ we are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us and we would not hear.’ Cain, in the bitterness of remorse, exclaimed, ‘ My punishment is greater than I can bear.’ Belshazzar, though surrounded by a thousand of his lords, trembled on his seat : and Judas, in all the horrors of despair, hanged himself. What an awful sanction to the justice of God, when a man becomes his own executioner !—the instrument of his own destruction ! He sets to his seal that God is true,—that his judgments are right ; and, by so doing, signs, as it were with his own blood, the justice of his condemnation.”

Mr. DUNN, the author of the discourse from which the preceding extracts are taken, is a native of this country, and a dissenting minister of the Calvinistic persuasion : he received his education at Broad Mead, Bristol, under the late Dr. Evans,—and, as a scholar, is certainly an ornament and honour to that seminary, as well as a standing eulogium on the zeal and abilities of its late tutor. After leaving the academy, Mr. D. presided for some time over a small congregation at Bovey Tracey, in the county of Devon ; where his time passed away in the studies attendant on his profession, and in acts of piety and benevolence : justly esteemed by all parties, he carried with him the good wishes and prayers of the inhabitants of that little town when Providence called him to a more active situation, as the minister of a dissenting

congregation at Sheffield. At the latter place, his labours exceeded the strength of a constitution naturally weak, and farther injured by intense application to his studies, by the advice of the most eminent of the faculty, he therefore quitted the pulpit, and came to London: near the close of the year 1792, his health being in a degree restored, he embraced an opportunity which offered, of entering into the bookselling business, by succeeding a Mr. — of Portsmouth. During the intervening period of making the agreement, and entering on actual possession, Mr. D. united himself, in the bonds of matrimony, with a Miss P——, of Bovey, a lady as amiable in her manners as she is eminent for her virtues and accomplishments. With prospects of future felicity, Mr. D. and his amiable partner hastened, at the appointed period, to Portsmouth, to take possession of his business. Only two days elapsed ere he fell a victim to the present detestable system of spies and informers. Paine's pamphlets, which had been sold in the regular course of business by his predecessor, were inadvertently sold by the person who was still retained as shopman; and though the fact was notorious, that Mr. D. had not the least knowledge of the transaction, not having taken actual possession of the house, nor the former occupier quitted it, yet, as the profits of the trade had devolved on him forty-eight hours prior to the sale of the pamphlets, he was deemed the ostensible aggressor. Two indictments were preferred at the sessions, and afterwards removed to the assizes: the most i-f——s means were taken to harass him, and to increase his expences; when seeing no prospect but that of being immersed within the walls of a prison, for years, and perhaps exalted on a pillory, he took the resolution of quitting his native country for the more hospitable shores of America—to which place

place his disconsolate partner shortly follows him. Thus is driven from the bosom of their country, families, and friends, by a cruel and unjust persecution, two persons, who, whether we consider them for their virtues or abilities, have left but few equals, and a far less number of superiors.

By inserting the following amongst your valuable lessons for the Swinish Multitude, you will oblige

CITIZEN COOKE.

**W**HATEVER may be the final issue of the French Revolution; whether it ends in the extirpation of monarchy and crowned heads, or in the restoration of the throne of France, I undertake not to determine; but, certain it is, that it has burst forth, like a creation from a chaos, and thrown open a magazine of light, which darts its influence over all Europe. The present state of France holds forth an awful lesson for tyrants. One of the most splendid thrones in the universe levelled in the dust! which a short time ago was the wonder of Europe! its monarch and monarchy, with all the chimeras of pomp and pride, fallen in a moment to desolation! When we cast our eyes around the world, and behold (as Mr. Burke observes on another occasion) a chasm that once was France, when we call to mind the state of a people, who, a short time since, were fast bound in misery and irons, groaning under the yoke of despotism, but now, on a sudden, roused like a phoenix from her ashes; when we contemplate the innumerable multitude of Frenchmen who have upreared the standard of Republicanism, and the still greater number of freemen, which have sprung

sprung up in the different parts of Europe, in consequence thereof, what can we prognosticate but ruin and destruction to the tyrants of the earth ! We hear the French people branded with the epithet of Atheists ; we hear the national representation, for standing forward in defence of the Rights of Man, called usurpers. It is true, they have brought their silver saints and golden apostles to the crucible, the best place for them ; they are of more service in the national treasury, than in being the objects of national worship. I trust the time is not far distant when every nation will follow their example, will unite in peace and friendship, when Antichrist will be driven out, when Babylon will fall ! and when the hydra of worldly pomp, the fabric of despotism, will be laid in ruins ! when the doleful shades of darkness, which have so long overshadowed the earth, will vanish like a phantom before the rising sun of Liberty.

*To the Editor of POLITICS for the PEOPLE,*

*Citizen,*

As the publication from which the inclosed is extracted is very scarce, I have taken the pains of selecting and sending it to you, thinking it, in a great measure, correspondent with the present popular opinions. If you think it worth inserting in your periodical work, I shall think the time I have bestowed well employed.

I am yours sincerely,

A CITIZEN.

*Extract from the Whisperer, published March 3, 1770,  
in weekly Numbers, No. III.*

THE people of England have vested all the executive power in the King, the legislative in the King, Lords, and Commons, the sovereign judicature in the Lords, the

FC

remainder is reserved in themselves, and not committed even to their representatives: all powers delegated are to one great end and purpose, that is, the public good—Now as all the three branches to whom this power is delegated, have inverted the design and end of their institution, the right they have to it ceases, and they are become tyrants and usurpers—The House of Commons have destroyed the right of the freeholders of England—the House of Lords have concurred with them in this invasion, and the King, by tacitly approving this proceeding, which he ought to oppose.—The right of the people being overthrown, the power of the representative, which is subsequent and subordinate, dies of itself, the constitution is dissolved of course, **AND POWER REVERTS TO ITS ORIGINAL.**

It would be nonsense to suppose that which has all the greater powers should not have the less.

Can the people's good be the chief end and aim of government, and the people's power be the last resort when government is overwhelmed by the treachery and errors of governors? And have the people no right, not so much as to be sensible of the ruin of their liberties and property, till it is absolutely completed—it would be ridiculous.

The first invasion made upon our rights, either by the tacit or actual assent of the three estates is an actual dissolution of the constitution, and the people have a right to dispossess the invaders.

It is not the design of the Whisperer to lessen the authority of Parliament, but all power must centre somewhere.

of Alluding to the violation of the right of the Freeholders of Middlesex, by the House of Commons, in the case of Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Luttrell, who declared the latter duly elected, although the former had a very great majority of legal votes in his favour.

If it be in the three branches of the constitution, it is there inherently and originally, or, if it is there by deputation, there must be a power deputing, and that must be prior, and consequently superior to the deputed.

Therefore reason and justice allows, that, when delegated powers fail or expire, when governors destroy the people they should protect, and when parliaments become so corrupted as to betray the people they represent, the people themselves, who are the original of all delegated power, have an undoubted right to defend their lives, liberties, and properties against all manner of invasion and treachery, either *foreign* or *domestic*.

The House of Commons are the abridgment, they are the people of England in miniature; to them all needful powers and privileges are committed, to make them capable of acting for the people they represent; and, *extremities excepted*, they are our last resort; but if they employ those privileges and powers against the people, the end is inverted, and the power of course ceases.

The members of the present House of Commons having betrayed the trust reposed in them, and violated the most sacred rights of the people, it now remains with the people of this kingdom (as they have petitioned the King in vain) to send up remonstrances to the throne, and, if this peaceable method should fail, the people of this country have an undoubted right to associate for their mutual defence against these invasions of their liberties.

The people of England have a just right, as well as a just power, to oppose their prince, or any favourite of his, who endeavours to oppress and enslave them, and such an opposition never can be construed into a spirit of rebellion, or anti-monarchical principles.—It would be very difficult to find an instance where the people of England ever took  
up

up-arms against their prince, but when forced to it, through a necessary care of their liberties and the constitution.

It is to all intents and purposes as much treason and rebellion against the known laws and constitution of this kingdom, in a prince to pervert and abuse them, or to break through them, as it can be in the people to rise up against him whilst he does his duty and keeps within these bounds.—The constitution of this country is a government of laws, not of persons. *Allegiance* and *protection* are therefore inseparable, and if the one fails, the other must fall of course. A prince then who regards not the injuries and complaints of his people, nor gives himself any concern about the mal-practices of his ministers, is no less a tyrant than one who rules by his own will.

We seem to be at the eve of some great event, whether it be such as, through a total corruption of manners and political principles, shall bury the crown and liberties of England in entire ruin, or by exertions of public spirit, *long smothered*, vindicate both, and settle them upon more firm and lasting foundations, is the important doubt and alternative; which of these it will be, cannot with certainty be determined; but while it continues a doubt, it becomes every honest man who wishes well to the community to awaken, call out, encourage, and dispose what virtue is left in the nation, *if there should be sufficient found to save it*; at least sufficient found to dignify our fall, and preserve the memory of England from sinking in future ages, in the annals that shall be delivered of us.

---

*To the independent and patriotic JURY who tried the cause of  
D. I. EATON, at the Old Bailey, for Sedition.*

IN these oppressive persecuting times,  
When men rewarded are for nought but crimes;  
When

When juries are a mercenary crew  
 Of vile assassins, tyrants' work to do ;  
 When public virtue's trampled to the dust,  
 And gaols are habitations for the just ;  
 In such degenerate—such polluted days,  
 Pure genuine virtue merits noble praise ;  
 Such are your merits, such the praises due  
 From all who love the human race, to you.  
 In Eaton's case you saw Oppression stand,  
 Threat'ning with vengeance this devoted land ;  
 And, with a virtuous patriotic zeal,  
 You gave a verdict for your country's weal ;  
 Justice your end, integrity your guide,  
 You bravely check'd corruption's foulest tide ;  
 You bade the dignity of man revive,  
 And liberty's expiring embers live ;  
 Britons record it—and the example take,  
 Rouse from your bonds, to liberty awake !  
 Detest the insults of despotic pride,  
 Shake off your shackles—stem corruption's tide ;  
 Exert your rights with a determined mind,  
 Be free as nature and as heaven designed.

### TO JOHN GURNEY, ESQ.

*On his Defence of Mr. Eaton.*

THOUGH fall'n the Muse on Britain's evil days,  
 Not such as whilome did her bards inspire ;  
 Yet Gurney ! would she wake the warbling lyre,  
 And tune one artless verse of honest praise,  
 That friendship to thy civic virtue pays ;  
 Such as the favour'd people shall decree,  
 Who welcome liberty's returning rays,  
 What time corruption's baneful locusts flee.

"Then—for that distant day the muse can see,"  
 Their names shall deck the fair historic page;  
 Who stemm'd the torrent of a venal age,  
 Unaw'd by power or interest's sordid plea;  
 Ev'n now Oppression mourns her fruitless rage,  
 While joy's blithe notes proclaim the destin'd victim free.

J. T. R.

*To the Editor of POLITICS for the PEOPLE.*

MR. EDITOR,  
 If the following is worthy to appear in your much esteem-  
 ed periodical Publication, by inserting it,

You will oblige, Yours,

JEUNET.

A N. O D E,

ADDRESSED

TO THE FRIENDS OF LIBERTY.

**L**IBERTY once was England's boast,  
 But now, alas! that treasure's lost,  
 And all our boasts are vain.  
 Therefore let us with zeal unite  
 To claim the just, the long lost right,  
 And Liberty regain.

Corruption long has borne the sway;  
 The bar and senate ev'ry day,  
 Convince us of the fact;  
 The patriot dare not speak his mind,  
 Lest he a biass'd judge should find,  
 Or venal jury pack'd.

Wag

War, the great scourge of all mankind!  
 With despots and their slaves combin'd,  
 Is made to serve our turn.  
 To quench the flame of Liberty,  
 With which, determin'd to be free,  
 Frenchmen, with ardour, burn.

Yes, foreign troops by us are paid,  
 To carry on the horrid trade,  
 OUR FRIENDS to sacrifice;  
 And, to complete our wretched doom,  
 If we complain, there's some at home  
 To MURDER us likewise.

Taxation multiplies apace,  
 The British name sinks in disgrace,  
 And slavery is nigh;  
 Success is ours, if we unite,  
 With truth and reason claim our right,  
 Be FREE, or bravely DIE.

---

*To the English Nation. On Dr. Priestley's being  
 obliged to seek Protection in America.*

### AN EPIGRAM.

*Nec te Roma pudet, quæ tanto immitis alumno,  
 Pectora habes ipsis barbariora Getis?*

*Ang. Polit. Eleg.  
 de exil. et mort. Ovid.*

PHILOSOPHY compell'd to leave the land,  
 Religion flying from the Russian's brand,  
 A Priestley exil'd! these, in language plain,  
 Libel the state, beyond sarcastic Paine.

Cite

Cite Moral-worth and Science to your bar,  
 With Truth and Reason wage an impious war;  
 A Priestley scorns to crouch beneath *your* rod,  
 The world *his country*, and *his* *sov'reign*, *God!*  
 Hackney. W. T.

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*An Exhortation to EVERY True Briton and  
 Well-wisher of his Country.*

**A**RE we quietly to behold our fellow countrymen sent out against the sons of Liberty? Are we to see them slain by hundreds at a stroke—Can Englishmen bear it? Can they help shedding a sympathizing tear, to behold so many of their bravest youths (the flower of that army which ought to be considered as their own) fall by the bloody sword of war, in the defence of Despotism? Can Britons bear to see foreign troops landed in their own country, under pretence of defending it, when it may come to pass, in a very short time, that they will be let loose upon them as so many bull-dogs, and, with a savage barbarity peculiar to these men, put us all to slaughter!

**ROUSE!** call the British Lion to rouse and stir himself! It is not a time for sleeping and thinking; but for acting and speaking;—to act boldly against the enemies of our liberties, and speak freely, and with a manly fortitude, against those who would keep in fetters both ourselves and *enlightened neighbours, the French!* **MUSTER** together all the bravery you are masters of, and never let your enemies have occasion to brand you with the odious epithets of being cowards. Defend the cause of Liberty, and fight as the children of Freedom, not as the syco-phants of slavery. Take this as an exhortation from a

**FREEBORN BRITON.**

The following, I think, deserves notice, as it contains truth, and appears to be design'd, by one of the BEST of M<sup>EN</sup>, for good purposes; in shewing the destruction of Despotism, by means created in itself; I trust we shall never experience so serious a circumstance in this land. But, the only way to secure us from danger, is to prevent the smallest extension of prerogative from taking place, and to prove ourselves good citizens, by uniting to support the basis of Liberty, existing in a constitution formed to make the People free, and the Rulers accountable for their actions.

AMICUS.

“THE liberties of Holland were established upon an *unshaken* foundation, by the constancy, patience, intrepidity, and industry of the first Republicans. Upon the first murmur, which persecution, misery, and despair, forced from the Flemings, they were accused of Infidelity and Rebellion. The most rigorous orders were issued against them. According to their inquisition, it was necessary to exterminate all who believed that

*“God is not bread; that God is not wine;”*

and who could not believe the seven sacraments!”—How was it possible, that people so cruelly tormented for ridiculous and absurd opinions, could love so galling a yoke? How could they believe, that there was any proper connection between them and their oppressors? It is not at all surprising, that tyrants should call those rebels, who have the courage to break their chains. In them, ambition stifles the voice of nature.

But what surprises is, sometimes to see a generous and free nation, approving the excesses of despotism, and seeming sorry that any should enjoy liberty but themselves, and even lending their assistance to forge chains for their fellow men. People sometimes patiently submit to the yoke; they

they are often destitute of that courage which enables them to die, rather than be slaves. There is a time, when they *obey* and *bate* their TYRANTS. But, when the evil is without remedy, when *Monsters* devour their substance, take from them every portion of liberty, and leave them nothing but slavery and chains; then they know how to exterminate their oppressors. It is then that civil war, which discovers hidden talents, and creates unknown resources, breaks out; then extraordinary men arise, and shew themselves worthy to command their fellow citizens."

*Lectures on Modern History.*

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*Anecdote.*

AN Aristocrat said to a Democrat,—“ I understand you are for liberty ? ” — “ Yes, Sir (said the Democrat) “ I am engaged in the cause of Liberty.” To which the Aristocrat said; “ Come then, so am I—Let’s drink; and we’ll give the K—g and C—n—t—t—n.” The Democrat replied, “ No, Sir, the K—g is ruled by Ministers that are bad; and, if so, he must be the same; the K—g is fighting against the cause of freedom, and not in its defence. The C—n—t—t—n is worn out by continual abuses; and, as there’s not the least particle of it remaining, there can be none to pledge. But, Sir, as perhaps you may call the d—p—tic g—v—nm—t a c—n—t—t—n, I tell you plainly, it is not in my heart to act against my countrymen’s welfare, nor to perjure my conscience by loading it with a corrupt sentiment !!!

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*Answer to Correspondents in our next.*

# Politics for the People.

PART II.

N U M B E R XIII.

Price Two-pence.

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L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR D. I. EATON, NO. 74, NEWGATE-STREET.

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1794.

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H A N O V E R.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

*From the particular connexion of the electorate of Hanover with the British government, we presume whatever relates to the liberty of the press in the former country will be deemed particularly interesting by the greater part of our readers. On this account we translate the following article at length from the Jena journal.*

**H**ANOVER, January 18, 1794. The "destructive poison of impudus infidelity, irreligion, and all licentiousness," to use the well known expressions of the Augsburg vicariat, has been of late powerfully spread through our country, probably by means of circulating libraries, book-clubs [*bücherverleihungsanstalten*], reading societies, and clubs for periodical publications. To remedy this evil, several proposals have been made to the government

ment by patriotic men\*, of which the three principal are, 1. bookfellers shall be obliged to give a complete account of every book before they expose it to sale : or 2. the managers of reading societies shall be made answerable for all books and periodical papers they permit to be circulated : or 3. at least a catalogue of the books belonging to reading societies shall be sent in from time to time. The last was immediately resolved, and hereupon the following royal ordinance respecting reading societies and circulating libraries as they are called was dispersed through the whole electorate :

‘ George the Third, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, duke of Brunswic and Luneburg, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy Roman empire, &c.

‘ The continual increase of reading societies and circulating libraries as they are called, renders it necessary, that such establishments should be subject to a stricter police.

‘ We find ourselves on this account moved to establish and ordain as follows :

‘ 1. All antiquarians [*antiquarii*] and others, who keep libraries for reading or letting out books for hire,

‘ Probably the members of an association lately formed at Hanover under the title of a ‘ military association against those who attempt to enlighten and seduce the people in Germany.’ These military gentlemen seem to take it for granted, that the people cannot be enlightened without being seduced ; and all the Hanoverian officers have engaged to draw their quills, *pro suis viribus*, against such disturbers of the public peace. The chevalier von Zimmermann, who appears to be at the head of this association, has already flourished his weapon in a tract entitled ‘ Adolphus Baron Knigge exposed to view as a German Democrat and Preacher up of Revolution.’ For this attack the baron, a comic poet of some repute, is indebted to his endeavour to raise a laugh by an ‘ Account of the ancient Order of Knights of the Brush, extracted from the Papers of the late Privy-Counsellor Muttonhead [*van Schaafkop*].’

shall, immediately after publication of this ordinance, deliver to the police office of the place where they reside a complete catalogue of all and every of the books and pamphlets in their libraries ; and shall in future, on every occasion, deliver in a similar catalogue of all such books and pamphlets as they, at any time, purchase, before they lend them. Whoever refuses this, or lends a book or pamphlet not mentioned in the catalogue, shall pay, for the first offence, a fine of ten rix-dollars, and for the second a double fine, and be prohibited from lending books any more ; half the fine to go to the informer.

‘ 2. All managers of reading societies shall likewise be obliged to deliver to the police office of the place where they reside, without exception and without plea of a privileged court, immediately after publication of this ordinance, a complete catalogue of the books and pamphlets at present circulating, or which may hereafter circulate, in their societies ; and they who are guilty of refusal or neglect, shall pay, without exception of persons, a fine of twenty-rixdollars, half to go to the informer.

‘ We accordingly command all our police officers strictly to execute the above ordinance, to send a copy of the catalogues, from time to time delivered to them, to our regency, *also immediately to seize such writings mentioned in the catalogues as are known to be dangerous or are prohibited*, but in doubtful cases to apply to our regency for farther instructions.

‘ Hanover, the 19th of December, 1793.

(L.S.)

‘ By special command of the king and elector.

‘ v. Kielmannsegge. v. Beulwitz. v. Arnswaldt.  
v. Steinberg.

‘ C. L. Hopfner.’

To the Editor of *POLITICS for the PEOPLE.*

MR. EDITOR,

SO much has already been said on the extreme *disproportion* of the Land Tax, and the *inequality* of the representation of Parliament, that it may almost be deemed an intrusion on your valuable Repository, to attempt any thing on that subject. I am not surprised to find, that there are persons now at the head of affairs, who once strenuously contended for that parliamentary reform, which the present unfavourable aspect of things proves to be so indispensibly needful.

The glory of our constitution has long been the boast of Englishmen ; and, perhaps, in the first formation of it, or when it was in a less state of corruption, it might, with greater propriety, be thought to deserve it ;—but, alas ! “ how is the fine gold become dim ! ” or, wherein does its excellency now consist ; when, through the *inequality* of our representation, the principal branch of the legislature is become the dupe of the other two, and thus is made the instrument of the people’s slavery ? Else why do we see men, while they are candidates for your suffrages, avow the *independence* of their *principles*, which they no sooner obtain, and become the objects of your choice, than they are turned, like the yielding weathercock, by the strongest wind ; and too often laugh at the credulity of those who trusted them.

This is owing to *two* causes ; the *inequality of representation*, and the *long duration of Parliament* : For, if every county and borough were allowed an equal number of representatives, according to the number of their inhabitants, the degree of their commerce, or manufactures, and

and the proportionate subsidy of the land tax, and the duration of Parliaments, (triennial or annual), the corruption of elections would be less influential,—and the temptation of interest be considerably reduced, by the indurability of its continuance.

But, perhaps, I may be asked, How this branch of the legislature only is the instrument of the *other two*, (viz. the King and the Lords)? I answer; has not the King the power of creating his own peers? and, by this means, can he not augment their number when he pleases, and for such purposes as may be most convenient to his will? *Thus is his power supported by their's.* Then, instead of *each* branch being, as was originally intended, a check to *each*; the *two first* are consolidated, and the other necessarily becomes the instrument of their pleasure.—But it may be said, This branch, being the body politic of the people, and from whom all resources are to be derived, have it in their power even to regulate the *other two*. NOT SO, VERILY! for the *other two* have it in their power to regulate them; by the *one*, as *one of your correspondents has observed*, “stepping into the scale of the *other*,” and giving it a turn against them. This is the effect of CORRUPT INFLUENCE, DISPROPORTIONATE REPRESENTATION, and SEPTENNIAL PARLIAMENTS.

It is just a century ago, the 22d of December next, since the government passed an act for triennial parliaments; and happy would it have been for this country if that act had never been repealed; for then the mystery of iniquity which is practised at elections, would, in a great measure, cease, or, rather, would never have existed;—for no man, *as a certain Duke has expressed it*, “would think it worth his while to bribe high if he could not get something by the purchase;”—and, I may add, no  
man

man would be base enough to sell his country for a certain premium, which *septennial parliaments* might render worth his while to accept, if, by reducing that premium, which triennial or annual parliaments would do, he could take his *benefit* to a better market.

Therefore, as I began with the equalization of the land tax, and the different subsidies, or proportions, each county, &c. pays ; I herein present you a short list of them, and leave your readers to judge for themselves, whether some reform, or regulation, is not necessary.

As the whole kingdom sends 513 members to parliament, so the whole of each tax is divided into 513 parts. The first column shews the name of the county ; the second, the number of members each county sends ; and the third, how many of the 513 parts, each county pays to the land tax.

| Counties.  | M. P. | Pa. L. T. | Counties.      | M. P. | Pa. L. T. |
|------------|-------|-----------|----------------|-------|-----------|
| Bedford    | 4     | 7         | Huntingdon     | 4     | 4         |
| Berkshire  | 9     | 10        | Kent           | 18    | 22        |
| Bucks      | 14    | 12        | Lancaster      | 14    | 5         |
| Cambridge  | 6     | 9         | Leicester      | 4     | 4         |
| Chester    | 4     | 7         | Lincoln        | 12    | 19        |
| Cornwall   | 44    | 8         | Middlesex      | 8     | 30        |
| Cumberland | 6     | 1         | Monmouth       | 3     | 3         |
| Derby      | 4     | 6         | Norfolk        | 12    | 22        |
| Devon      | 26    | 21        | Northampton    | 9     | 12        |
| Dorset     | 20    | 9         | Northumberland | 8     | 4         |
| Durham     | 4     | 3         | Nottingham     | 8     | 7         |
| Essex      | 8     | 14        | Oxon           | 9     | 10        |
| Gloucester | 8     | 12        | Rutland        | 2     | 2         |
| Hampshire  | 26    | 14        | Salop          | 12    | 7         |
| Hereford   | 8     | 5         | Somerfet       | 18    | 19        |
| Hertford   | 6     | 11        | Stafford       | 10    | 7         |
|            |       |           | Suffolk        |       |           |

| Counties.    | M.P. | Pts.L.T. | Counties. | M.P.      | Pts.L.T.  |
|--------------|------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Suffolk      | - 16 | 20       | Wilts     | - 34      | 13        |
| Surry        | - 14 | 16       | Worcester | - 9       | 9         |
| Suffex       | - 28 | 22       | York      | - 30      | 24        |
| Warwick      | - 6  | 20       | Wales     | - 24      | 11        |
| Westmoreland | 4    | 1        |           |           |           |
|              |      |          |           | <hr/> 513 | <hr/> 513 |

From the above statement, it appears that the six northern, and five western, counties, send 216 members to Parliament, and pay *only* 103 shares to the land-tax ; while Middlesex and Essex return *only* sixteen Members, and yet pay 104 shares ! So very *proportionate* is the present state of British representation.

April 15, 1794.

AMATOR PATRIÆ.

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To the Editor of POLITICS for the PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR,

If you think the insertion of the following extract from Godwin's Political Justice, Chap. IV. on a VIRTUOUS DESPOTISM, consistent with your general plan, you will favour a constant Reader and admirer of your useful Publication, by giving it a place therein.

Yours, in fraternity,

PIGABUS.

“ THERE is a principle frequently maintained upon this subject, which is well entitled to our impartial consideration. It is granted by those who espouse it, “ that absolute Monarchy, from the imperfection of those by whom it is admired, is most frequently attended with evil ;” but, they assert, “ *that it is the best and most desirable of all forms, under a good and virtuous Prince. It is exposed, (say they) to the fate of all excellent natures, and,*  
from

*from the best thing, frequently, if corrupted, becomes the worst !*" This remark is certainly not very decisive of the general question, so long as any weight shall be attributed to the arguments which have been adduced, to evince what sort of character and disposition may be ordinarily expected in princes. It may be, however, allowed, if true, to create in the mind, a sort of *partial* retrospect to this happy and perfect despotism ; and, if it can be shewn to be false, it will render the argument, for the abolition of monarchy, so far as it is concerned, more entire and complete.

" Now, whatever disposition any man may possess in favour of the welfare of others, two things are necessary to give them validity ; DISCERNMENT and POWER. I can promote the welfare of a few persons, because I can be sufficiently informed of their circumstances. I can promote the welfare of many in *certain general articles*, because, for this purpose, it is only necessary that I should be informed of the nature of the human mind as such, and not of the personal situation of the individuals concerned. But, for *one man* to undertake to administer the affairs of millions, supply not general principles, and perspicuous reasoning, but particular application, and measures adapted to the necessities of the moment, *is, of all undertakings, the most EXTRAVAGANT and ABSURD.*

" The most natural and obvious of all proceedings is for each man to be the sovereign arbiter of his own concerns. If the imperfection, the narrow views, and the mistakes of human beings, render this, in certain cases, inexpedient and impracticable, the next resource is to call in the opinion of his peers, persons who, from their vicinity, may be presumed to have some general knowledge of the case, and who have leisure and means minutely to investigate

investigate the merits of the question. It cannot reasonably be doubted, that the same expedient which men employed in their civil and criminal concerns, would, by uninstructed mortals, be adopted in the assessment of taxes, in the deliberations of commerce, and in every other article in which their common interests were involved, only generalizing the deliberative assembly, or pannel, in proportion to the generality of the question to be decided.

Monarchy, instead of referring every question to the persons concerned, or their neighbours, refers it to a single individual, *placed at the greatest distance possible from the ordinary members of the society*; instead of distributing the causes to be judged into as many parcels as they would conveniently admit, for the sake of providing leisure and opportunities of examination, it draws them to a single centre, and renders enquiry and examination impossible. A DESPOT, *however virtuously disposed, is obliged to act in the dark*, to derive his knowledge from other men's information, and to execute his behests by other men's instrumentality. Monarchy seems to be a species of government *proscribed* by the nature of man; and those persons who furnished their DESPOT with integrity and virtue, forgot to add omniscience and omnipotence; QUALITIES *not less necessary* to fit him for the office they had provided.

Let us suppose this *honest* and *incorruptible* DESPOT, to be served by ministers AVARICIOUS, HYPOCRITICAL, and INTERESTED, *what will the people gain by the good intentions of their monarch?* He will mean them the greatest benefits; but he will be altogether unacquainted with their SITUATION, their CHARACTER, and their WANTS. The information he receives will frequently be *found the very reverse of the truth*. He will be taught  
that

that one individual is highly meritorious, and a proper subject of reward, whose only merit is the *profligate cruelty* with which he has served the purposes of his administration. He will be taught that another is the pest of the community, who is indebted for *this report* to the *steady virtue* with which he has traversed and defeated the wickedness of government. He will mean the greatest benefits to his people ; but when he prescribes something calculated for their advantage, his servants, under pretence of complying, shall, in reality, perpetrate diametrically the reverse. Nothing will be more dangerous than to endeavour to remove the obscurity with which his ministers surround him. The man who attempts so hardy a task, will become the incessant object of their hatred. Though the sovereign should be ever so severely just, the time will come when his observation will be laid asleep, while malice and revenge are ever vigilant. Could he unfold the *secrets of his prison houses of state*, he would find men committed in his name, *whose crimes he never knew, whose names he never heard of*, perhaps men whom he honoured and esteemed. Such is the history of the benevolent and philanthropic DESPOTS, whom memory has recorded ; and the conclusion from the whole is, that *wherever despotism exists*, there it will always be attended with the evils of despotism, capricious measures, and arbitrary infliction.

But will not a *wise king* take care to provide himself with good and virtuous servants ? Undoubtedly he will effect a part of this ; but he cannot supersede the essential nature of things. He that executes any office as a deputy will never discharge it in the same perfection as if he were the principal. Either the minister must be the author of the plans which he carries into effect, *and then it is of little consequence, except so far as relates to his integrity in the choice of*  
his

*his servants, what sort of mortal the Sovereign shall be found,* or he must play a subordinate part, and then it is impossible to transfuse into his mind the perspicuity and energy of his master. Wherever despotism exists, it cannot remain in a single hand, but must be transmitted whole and entire through all the progressive links of authority. To render despotism *auspicious* and *benign*, it is necessary not only that the Sovereign should possess every human excellence, but that all his officers should be men of *penetrating genius* and *unspotted virtue*. If they fall short of this, they will, like the ministers of Elizabeth, be sometimes specious profligate†, and sometimes men, who, however admirably adapted for business, consult on many occasions exclusively their private advantage, worship the rising sun, enter into vindictive cabals, and cuff down new-fledged merit‡. Wherever the *continuity* is broken the flood of vice will bear down all before it, one weak or disingenuous man will be the source of unbounded mischief—It is the nature of monarchy, under all its forms, to confide in the discretion of individuals. It provides no resource for maintaining and diffusing the spirit of justice. Every thing rests upon the permanence and extent of influence, and personal virtue.

Another position, not less generally asserted than that of the *desirableness of a virtuous despotism*, is that republicanism is a species of government practicable only in a small state, while monarchy is best fitted to embrace the concerns of a vast and flourishing empire. The reverse of this, so far, at least, as relates to monarchy, appears at first sight to be the truth. The competence of any government cannot be measured by a purer standard than the extent and accuracy of

† Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

‡ Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer; Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral.

its information. In this respect monarchy appears in all cases to be wretchedly deficient ; but if it can ever be admitted, it must surely be in those narrow and limited instances, where an individual can, with *least absurdity*, be supposed to be acquainted with the affairs and interests of the whole.

### A HINT

*To Manufacturers, and other famished Inhabitants  
of this Country.*

THE Neapolitan government refused shelter to any of the fugitives of Toulon, who, by means of their credulous confidence in Lord Hood's protection, and their treachery to their own country, had been driven in want and nakedness from their houses. At last, however, two thousand of these deluded miserable beings, were permitted, by the interference of the British minister, to remain at Porto-Ferrajo, upon condition of the British government allowing each of that number not less than ten pence, about six-pence halfpenny per day.—How many of the starving weavers and their families in London, in Norwich, and other places, get six-pence halfpenny a head, per day, out of the boasted subscriptions levied for their relief?

Thus then, after all the enormous expence of blood and treasure, with which the fatal port of Toulon was for a few months maintained—after the heavy increase of taxes with which we must be burthened, as the price of the *splendid achievements* at that place, all the advantage that the people of England have eventually reaped is, that two thousand more of the *swinish multitude* have the bread taken out

out of their mouths, that it may be put into those of the Toulonese emigrants, whom our good allies, the Neapolitans, are not foolish enough to maintain, while their own lazaroni are starving.

---

We beg leave to present our readers with the following lines, which we are anxious to circulate, as we are assured by some of the minister's staunch friends, *and we give them on this occasion implicit credit*, that they contain his *real*, and his *best* reasons for his conduct.

THE gentlemen say,  
 They remember the day  
 When I was an advocate warm  
 For equalization  
 Of Representation,  
 And cried out aloud for REFORM.

But indeed 'twould be strange  
 If my mind did not change,  
 As circumstance alters the case ;  
 These short-sighted men  
 May remember 'twas when  
 Another man was in my place.

Majorities did  
 What the Minister bid,  
 And he was the nation's undoing ;  
 I was thin as a stag,  
 And my empty green bag  
 Presented no picture but—ruin.

No Borough then rotten  
By me was forgotten,  
I brought them all into disgrace ;  
But their timbers were found  
To be perfectly sound  
The moment I got into place.

I admit there are blots,  
And a few little spots,  
Which stain the white robe of the nation ;  
But that is no cause  
For amending bad laws,  
And changing the representation.

At some other season  
It might be a reason,  
Though at present it is not the case ;  
I am Minister Prime,  
*And 'twill never be time,*  
*So long as I keep in my place.*

---

*A Mathematical Demonstration of the Blessings of  
WAR.*

PROBLEM.

A CERTAIN country being given, decreasing in commerce, wealth, and happiness, and increasing in debt, taxes, and poverty, to prove that to this country WAR is a great blessing.

DEMONSTRATION.

Let it be granted that by the decrease of commerce, many of our merchants ships are rotting in port, and their warehouses filled with unsold goods: then by the country  
being

being *involved* in foreign war, the said ships will find employment in the transportation of troops and stores, and by the increased consumption of hemp, iron, saltpetre, &c. the old stock of these articles will be taken off their hands, and the continual demand for them produce an increasing importation,—*ergo*, war revives and encourages commerce.

But war cannot be carried on without a great expence, and as we are *minus* cash, it must be supplied by loans, which loans could not be procured if the lenders had a *negative* opinion of our credit ; now as we are *plus* in credit, on which we can at all times obtain money, it is evident, even without considering our great gain from captures\*, &c. that war is the direct way to national wealth.

Again, let it be granted, that the country is *divided* by factions, which factions are *multiplied* by discontent and distress ; then war by uniting all parties for common defence, restores harmony, and by increasing the prosperity of the country, as before shewn, removes discontent and distress : i.e. war produces happiness.

Now from what has been already proved, arises the following *equation*.

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Country—commerce—wealth} \\ \text{Faction} \times \text{discontent} \times \text{distress} = \text{Blessings of War.} \end{array}$$

But further, the country is increasing in debt. Now if it should be asserted that what is borrowed must, at some future time, be repaid ; I say that such assertions can only be made by those who are ignorant of *political arithmetic*, for we know that whatever is borrowed is converted into stock, i.e. it is added to our former *deficit*. But when

\* In the war begun in 1756 the number of ships taken by the French from the English was 2539, by the English from the French 944. In the American and present war the proportion has not been much less.

a debt becomes of such a nature that it cannot even be supposed it will ever be paid, it ceases to partake of the nature of a debt—*ergo*, the National debt is equal to nothing.

Again, the country is increasing in taxes; but taxation not possessing the qualities of an *infinite series*, there must be a certain limit beyond which it cannot extend. Now whatever brings it nearer to this limit, tends to accelerate the time when the people *must* be relieved from any further exactions, therefore as war produces *plus* taxes, which generate *plus* grievances, it hastens that period when liberty shall no longer be a *negative quantity*, but the people attain *positive* happiness by *extracting the root* of oppression.

Lastly, let it be granted, that war, even when successful, must be carried on with a constant loss of men and horses; then, I say, the *reduction* of men and horses produces *minus* mouths, and consequently *plus* provisions, i. e. war produces plenty, *ergo*, war is a GREAT BLESSING.  
Q. E. D.

N.B. Among the blessings of war may be reckoned the great benefit our soldiers receive from the advantages of a foreign climate; but we leave this for M. Brunswick to demonstrate, from his superior knowledge of the doctrine of *fluxions*. This gentleman can, perhaps, also do us the favour to inform us what alteration of *measures* the Royal Society may think necessary to be adopted in consequence of the late diminution of the *league*.

April 16, 1794.

GRAMPUS.

~~✂~~ We are obliged to postpone the answer to correspondents till  
our next.

# Politics for the People.

PART II.

N U M B E R XIV.

Price Two-pence.

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L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR D. I. EATON, NO. 74, NEWGATE-STREET.

1794.

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*To the Editor of POLITICS for the PEOPLE.*

MR. EDITOR,

THE friends of the people having, in their address of the 9th current, proved the present House of Commons not to be a constitutional representation of the kingdom, and that the people ought not to be taxed, but by a parliamentary house, chosen by their *free suffrages*, would not the most effectual method to obtain an immediate reform, be, to resolve to bring the matter before a jury of the country, by REFUSING TO PAY THE LAND TAX? This would lead perhaps to a seizure, which might ground an action against the collector, and lead to the issue. It can hardly be supposed, under all the circumstances, that a jury would concur in forging fetters for themselves and their posterity, by sanctioning the present perversion of that fundamental principle of the constitution, grounded  
on

on the 8th article in the Petition of Rights, asserting, that  
*" the elections of Members of Parliament ought to be free."*

If the society were immediately to publish a resolution in the papers to this effect, it would perhaps make an effectual impression ; for the legality of paying any one tax failing, all others would be involved in the conclusion, and then what would become of the executive power ? So formidable an idea once getting abroad, could not fail raising correspondent apprehensions in the ministry ; and, to prevent its effect, might, for their own sakes, induce them to prevent the experiment, by acquiescing in the removal of so odious a cause of complaint.

Should you approve making the proper communication of this to the society, it might be effectually useful.

18 April, 1794.

BRUTUS.

N.B. The verdicts of juries have lately been unpropitious to Ministers, and, if a resolution to the following effect were to be immediately published, it might also be the means of concessions, by which the barbarous and tyrannical sentence against Messrs. Palmer, Muir, &c. might yet be prevented from further execution.

Resolved, that it is incumbent on this society, as earnestly solicitous to preserve the purity of the political constitution of this country, as settled at the Revolution in 1688, and therefore we determine forthwith to bring the following question to issue before a legal jury of the country.

Whether taxes ought, or ought not, to be paid, imposed on the people of Great Britain, by any assembly of men, other than a national representation, freely chosen by the legal electors, conformably to that fundamental principle of the original contract, expressed by the eighth article in  
the

the Declaration of Rights, "that the elections of Members of Parliament ought to be free?"

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*To the Editor of POLITICS for the PEOPLE.*

Mr. Editor,

I have taken the liberty to send you the following Extract, thinking you will not be displeased therewith.

AS the people are the fountain of power and authority, the original seat of majesty, the authors of laws, and the creators of officers to execute them; if they shall find the power they have conferred abused by their trustees, their majesty violated by tyranny or by usurpation, their authority prostituted to support violence or screen corruption; the laws grown pernicious through accidents unforeseen or unavoidable, or rendered ineffectual through the infidelity and corruption of the executors of them; then it is their right, *and what is their RIGHT, is their DUTY*, to resume that delegated power, and call their trustees to account; to resist the usurpation, and extirpate the tyranny; to restore their sullied majesty and prostituted authority; to suspend, alter, or abrogate those laws, and punish their unfaithful and corrupt officers. Nor is it the duty only of the united body; but every member of it ought, according to his respective rank, power, and weight in the community, to concur in advancing and supporting these glorious designs—these, Sir, I think, are liberal and sound maxims of government.

*From the Encyclopædia Britannica.*

Your humble servant,

JOHN NEWMAN.

With pleasure we give a place to the following Epistle to a man in Scotland, on his threatening the Writer with *Law*.

“SIR,

“IN reply to your threatening Epistle, permit me to say that notwithstanding I have been in possession of it two or three days, and have enjoyed two nights of uninterrupted repose in the arms of my old friend Morpheus since the perusal, I have scarcely yet recovered from the shock which its hostile contents gave me;—for, no sooner did I discover that I was threatened with *law*, than I was immediately TRANSPORTED, in imagination, to EDINBURGH,—*found guilty* by a SCOTCH JURY, and at the mercy of SCOTCH JUDGES! A transport filled with wretched convicts—chains, shackles, hand-bolts—a tedious voyage, and the dismal settlement of Botany Bay, presented themselves to my distracted view. The perturbation of my mind, Sir, is much better conceived than described; till I began to recollect myself a little, and to console myself with the certainty, that I resided to the south of the Tweed, and that the *cause must be tried in England*,—and that although they knew how to pack juries in one place as well as in another, yet that I stood a much better chance *here* than in a *more northern* latitude; for, admitting that I had been guilty of a *far worse* crime than that I am charged with, nay, that worst of all crimes now a-days,—*speaking disrespectfully of the Lord’s anointed himself*, I should expect nothing more severe in this *happy* country, than the *mild* punishment of being immured FOUR YEARS in a dungeon, and of being fined far above my ability to pay.”

Yours, in defiance,

OBADIAH OBSTINATE.

South Britain, 1 April, 1794.

The following Address, extracted from the *Boston Gazette*, of Oct. 28, 1793, we conceive will not prove unacceptable to our numerous readers.

TO THE  
*FRIENDS of LIBERTY.*

“ **B**E not discouraged at the late misfortunes of our noble and brave allies, nor think that the fate of France depends on Conde, Mentz, Valenciennes, or Lisle; though the combined ruffians should penetrate into the heart of the country, and carry fire and sword wherever they go; yet liberty will still flourish, and inspire her sons with redoubled vigour and energy. Look back on the scenes we have passed through; recollect the thousands of our veterans murdered in the infernal Jersey prisonships, by British assassins! Remember the many anxious days and tedious nights numbers of us have spent, far exiled from our native homes, destitute of the comforts, and often of the necessaries of life! Call to mind the sufferings of a magnanimous army, without clothing, food, or money; follow them by the blood covering the ice and snow, through New Jersey, Pensilvania, &c. and forget not the cruelties exercised on your countrymen in sugar-houses and gaols in this city, during a seven years struggle for independence! If we call to mind these circumstances of distress, we must rationally suppose, that the French nation will also bear up under their present difficulties, and finally establish their liberty, on a permanent basis.

The accounts we receive from Europe come generally through the London ministerial papers, where defeats are transformed

transformed into victories, and repulses appear like conquests. Be not deceived, my countrymen, by these artifices : The English are remarkable for bragging and boasting, and will never give a true account of the unfortunate engagement on their side.—Look at the Royal Gazette, printed in this place, during the late war ! there you will find pages filled with victories gained over the poor deluded rebels, armies captured by an handful of his Majesty's loyal subjects, a thousand Yankies put to flight by half a dozen royal grenadiers, and swarms of vessels taken by the King's privateers. Yet, for all this, America maintained her ground, and became free and independent; in spite of tyrannic power. And shall France fall ! the nation who stepped forward to save us from impending ruin, when there was no one to espouse our cause ! save Heaven ! She nobly came forward, expended her treasure in defence of the United States, and the blood of her heroes moistened the soil which we now tread. Must this gallant friend now be subdued by a banditti of crowned villains, who are plotting the destruction of republicanism throughout the world ? Forbid it, gracious Providence ! Rather let every true American arise, enlist under the banners of France, and, with her, live free, or die. If liberty is extinguished in France, America falls next.

Tyrants know no bounds, and are not to be circumscribed by reason. The moment the French are conquered, the armies of despotism will be wafted across the Atlantic, to complete their diabolical plan. Excuses will not be wanting, while there is a despotism to excite animosities. We have foes within, and, if there are enemies without, who can tell how soon our dear-bought liberties may be sacrificed at the altar of tyranny ?

American

American citizens! be watchful! this is an important time, your all is at stake! you are surrounded by adversaries in different shapes. Some approach you under the mask of friendship, and would fain palm themselves upon the credulous, as good Whigs and supporters of government, while their former actions and present behaviour fully testify that they are inveterate Tories. Others talk much of federalism, and obedience to the laws, when, it is well known, they side with the champions of slavery, and are continually vilifying our most respectable republican characters.

Freemen of the United States! guard, with a jealous eye, the sacred temple of liberty: transmit the gem unimpaired to your children, and let it be handed down to the latest posterity. Look upon the French as your best friends, nor suffer the charge of ingratitude to stain the American character. Remember they fought and bled for that freedom you now possess, and that, without their assistance, most probably we had never attained it. Teach your infants to love the brave nation; and impress on their tender minds the importance of vigilance and perseverance in the cause of liberty. Let us not be shackled with the fopperies of a debauched, profligate nation, formerly our foes; nor imitate their vices by following their fashionable manners. Republicans should be more independent than to be led away by the gewgaws of a bankrupt people; and their customs ought to partake more of simplicity and plainness."

A REPUBLICAN.

*To the Editor of POLITICS for the PEOPLE.*

MR. EDITOR,

The following narrative is extracted, word for word, from the letter of a boy about seventeen years of age, at a private school at Liverpool, to his parents near this town, dated April 5, 1794. You may make what use of it you please.

“**L**AST night, I was quite shocked at the inhuman behaviour of a body of the press-gang—Hearing them in the streets, I followed them into a narrow lane, where I understood they had got information of two sailors arrived that afternoon from a Guinea voyage. The gang coming to the house found the door made fast. The lieutenant demanded it to be opened. This was refused. Then, said one of the gang, we'll open it for you, and, rushing against it in a body, broke it open, and found in the house, the husband, his wife with three small children, and another sailor, who, forcing his way through the gang, effected his escape. The husband made no resistance, but his wife fell down on her knees, and earnestly begged the lieutenant not to take away her husband, who was but that afternoon arrived from a voyage of twelve months. He, however, ordered the gang to take him away; then the three children, together with the mother, instantly laid hold of him, with a seeming resolution not to part with him at any rate; but the inhuman savages, regardless of the mother's tears, and the little children's cries, soon wrested him out of their hands, and dragged him to the tender!!”

So says the boy. Now, Mr. Editor, if, as the best and wisest senators, both in the House of Lords and Commons, have publicly, and often declared, the present war is nei-  
ther

ther *just* nor *necessary*, what do the authors and abettors of it deserve, for bringing such complicated distress on that useful body of men and their families, merely out of a spirit of pride and obstinacy? In my opinion, the least they deserve is, that their sons should be all doomed to be common sailors for life, and their daughters to be compelled to marry none but men of that description; then might we hope, that the next generation would be rather wiser than the present.

But to be serious. As a wife and three children exempt a man from serving in the militia, where, he never is in more danger than at home, and where he receives a shilling a day, which is perhaps more than he could otherwise earn, what a pity is it, that a wife and three children cannot protect a man from being impressed to serve on board his Majesty's fleet, where his wages will not find him common necessaries, and from whence it is ten to one he never returns, without the loss of some of his limbs!!

Yours, &c.

April 15, 1794.

*A Lover of Justice.*

*To the Editor of POLITICS for the PEOPLE.*

AH! Mr. Editor, we are all in the dumps again. That d—d *bonnet rouge* will triumph in spite of our teeth, I fear. And yet, all Europe knows that we have done every thing in our power to suppress it.

Who could have imagined that a plot so infernally *excellent*—so extensively ramified,—so consummately disposed,—and so *divinely* ripe for execution, would have vanished like a dream, and have left us in this despicable situation! detested

—detested by one country, despised by another, and scarcely pitied by our own.—Aye, now you may shake your head, indeed! We all shake our heads. The—— shakes his head too.

O that *execrable barbarian*, Roberfpiere!—to frustrate a conspiracy that would have done *honour* to the *gods*. But for him, we had astonished all the world, rendered our names immortal, and made even the editor of our S— blush with joy at the *gloriously* sanguinary scene. But all is over now. The last head of the Hydra has fallen under that horrible axe of the law, the guillotine; and I do not think that all the assignats we can forge, or all the cash we can raise, will set another r—— scheme of butchery on foot, that would present a moderate prospect of success.

Did we fast and pray,—did Holland fast and pray,—did Spain fast and pray,—did the Pope fast and pray,—and did the Emperor—promise to fast and pray full three whole days successively, for such a disappointment as this!! But that those *oracles*, the *loaves and fishes*, on every consultation, repeatedly convince us we cannot err, one would really be *half* inclined to think, that the cause of the *divine* right of *Church and King* over the *Swinish* multitude, was not so verily the cause of the CREATOR OF US ALL, as our right reverend instructor Bishop P——n had taught us to believe.—But disappointment and vexation hurry me beyond the pale of political discretion; and should they still accumulate, I dread, lest in some paroxysm of despair, I may be betrayed into another crime of inconsistency, and *impiously* commit symptoms of sympathy at the present distressed state of YOUR FRIENDS—THE PEOPLE.

The King of P—, aye, that King of P—, Mr. Editor, is still the burthen of my thoughts, awake and sleeping. Those confounded Commissioners of the National Convention,

vention, have shewn him such millions of *cogent reasons* for withdrawing himself from the *coronal Coalition*, that we shall inevitably lose him ; unless they providentially have delivered those reasons into his possession : in such case, we may possibly persuade the tergiversating Monarch to inclose them in his coffers ; and, by presenting to his view **NEW REASONS**, full as *cogent*, happily recall him to the royal road of *honour* and *renown*. Should good fortune so ordain, *the sublime cause of royalty still may triumph*. Still may our wonderous Knight, *Sir Woeful*, ponder o'er his pension so miraculously earned, by transforming a whole people to an *herd of swine* !—still may the *loaves and fishes* declare us for their favourite *protectors*, and still may—trample on the ruins of the *rabble*.

But, on mature reflection, our case may not be so truly deplorable, as our harrassed imaginations have hitherto depicted it, even if the much deprecated event does take place ; for, should Prussia positively secede, he will have *forty or fifty thousand MACHINES* for which no immediate use can occur in his own dominions ; and as the *fortunes*, as well as *lives* of the loyal subjects of this country, are pledged to support this most feelingly *just and necessary* war, we can take those **MACHINES** into our pay, and, I dare say, on full as reasonable terms as the **MACHINES** taken into our service from the **ELECTORATE OF HANOVER**. And with such a mass of warlike instruments at our command—**GODS** ! what glorious conquests might we not atchieve ?

Let me see. Forty thousand of *Prussian-English*—twenty-five thousand *Hanoverian-English*—thirty thousand of *Dutch-English*—twenty thousand of *French Emigrant-English*—fifteen thousand of *Hessian and German-English*—and sixty thousand of *John Bull's-English*, will make our  
armies

armies *one hundred and ninety thousand* strong. Heavens! how the martial furor warms me.

With a force so *reasonably raised* and so *easily* maintained, those *desperate and abandoned wretches*, the freemen of France, would stand no chance at all.

Then, Mr. Editor, we should be assured of Dunkirk, without hazarding the loss of another immense train of artillery, as we might deluge the inhabitants with—*our own water*. Lisle would fall too, without a shot. Landau—but Landau will open her gates to Cobourg as soon as—his Highness can prevail on the surly inhabitants to receive him. Calais—no, we would not deluge Calais, as it would be so handy a little port to dispatch our packets from, with hourly expresses of our astonishing and truly *windmillian* achievements.

From Calais we would march to Abbeville; and, on passing the proud cliffs of that rebellious coast, we would fire a *feu de joye*, by way of salute to our friends on the opposite side of the water—at Dover, and that neighbourhood: they, unfortunate devils! would snuff the fragrant breeze issuing from the perspirable matter pressed from our bodies by the knapsacks *full of honour* with which we should be loaded, and blink with envy at the incomprehensible prospects of happiness before us.

At Abbeville we would halt a day or two, that we might set our numerous incarcerated friends at liberty, and regale their *famished* stomachs with the beef and pudding which we should have in our—pockets.

From thence we would march incontinently to ; there we would call a council of war, and consult whether it would be most *prudent* to proceed immediately to plunder Paris, and roast the *rascally* Convention: or, first make a *small* circumbendibus, and possess ourselves of Brest: and then

then make another *small* circumbendibus, and retake Toulon. For, as the old adage says, "the furthest way about, is the nearest road home," *we might possibly get to Paris full as soon by circumparading the whole republic, as by marching directly towards the capital.*

Then, Mr. Editor, for now I am on my career, I'll be stopp'd by no man, but once in my life, enjoy victory in *index* at least.—Then Mr. Editor, after retaking Toulon, and repairing the ruined fortunes of our friends, the traitors in Marseilles, we might *glide* over the mountains and be at Paris presently. But as expedition is not the most profitable mode of making war, for some people ; and as, by that time, our bellies would be tolerably full of fighting, and our backs intolerably bruised by the continual and repeated burthens of *honours* laid on them by the *grateful* inhabitants of the country ; it might probably be deemed requisite to return into snug winter quarters at—Ghent and Ostend ; and think of marching to Paris the ensuing spring.

Yours, &c.

April 4, 1794.

ARISTOCRAT.

P.S. Notwithstanding we are resolv'd to keep despair from us as long as possible ; yet, if in spite of Burgundy, she should approach, I am determin'd to trouble you with an open, candid, and ingenuous history of our conduct since 1789, by way of a last dying speech and confession ; and will then look out for some good natured, silly old coroner, who pays just so much regard to the liberty of the subject, as will induce him to view our *hasty departure* from the odious presence of a *Swinish Multitude*, with a favourable eye, and direct the jury not to add the guilt of *felo de se*, to the rest of our frailties.

LI.

# LIBERTY TREE,

## A NEW SONG.

TUNE—*The Gods of the Greeks.*

**I**N a chariot of light, from the regions of day,  
 The goddess of liberty came,  
 Ten thousand celestials directed the way,  
 And hither conducted the dame.  
 A fair budding branch from the gardens above,  
 Where millions with millions agree,  
 She brought in her hand, as a pledge of her love,  
 And the plant she nam'd LIBERTY TREE.

The celestial exotic struck deep in the ground,  
 Like a native, it flourish'd and bore ;  
 The fame of its fruit drew the nations around,  
 To seek out this peaceable shore.  
 Unmindful of names and distinction, they came,  
 For freemen, like brothers, agree,  
 With one spirit endued, they one friendship pursued,  
 And their temple was LIBERTY TREE.

Beneath this fair tree, like the Patriarchs of old,  
 Their bread in contentment they ate,  
 Unvex'd with the troubles of silver and gold,  
 The cares of the grand and the great.  
 With timber and tar they Old England supplied,  
 And supported her power on the sea,  
 Her battles they fought without getting a groat,  
 For the honour of LIBERTY TREE.

But

But hear, O ye swains! 'tis a tale most profane,  
 How all the tyrannical powers,  
 K—s, C—m—ns, and L—s are uniting amain,  
 To cut down this guardian of ours,  
 From the East to the West, blow the trumpet to arm,  
 Thro' the land, let the sound of it flee,  
 Let the far and the near all unite with a cheer,  
 In defence of fair LIBERTY'S TREE.

---

*To the Editor of POLITICS for the PEOPLE.*

Mr. Editor,

The following is extracted from M'Fingal, an American Poem of considerable merit. If you will admit it into your pig's trough, when a favourable opportunity occurs, you will oblige

A YOUNG GRUNTER.

AND are there in this free born land  
 Among ourselves a venal band,  
 A dastard race, who long have sold  
 Their souls and consciences for gold ;  
 Who wish to stab their country's vitals  
 If they might *beir* surviving titles ;  
 With joy behold our mischiefs brewing,  
 Insult and triumph in our ruin ?  
*Priests*, who if *Satan* should sit down  
 To make a *Bible* of his own,  
 Would gladly, for the sake of mitres,  
 Turn his *inspired* and *sacred* writers ;  
*Lawyers*, who should he wish to prove  
 His title t' his old seat above,  
 Would, if his cause he'd give 'em fees in,  
 Bring writs of *Entry sur disseisin*,  
 Plead for him boldly at the session,  
 And hope to put him in possession ;

Mar-